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THE GREAT KUSHĀṆA TESTAMENT

Prof. B.N. Mukherjee

Indian Museum
Calcutta
1995

EDITORIAL NOTE

The present volume of the Indian Museum Bulletin incorporates an elaborate study of the Rabatak Inscription of the Kushana emperor Kaniska-I, written in Bactrian language and discovered in Afghanistan in March 1993. A new interpretation of the inscription has been provided by Prof. B. N. Mukherjee which unfolds the importance of the record towards politico-religious history of the period. The extra-ordinarily important epigraphic record has thrown much light on the genealogical history of the Kushanas, their concept of divine origin of the kingship, expansion of the empire of Kaniska - I towards the eastern and southern parts of India as also on the portrait figures of Kushana kings, besides prevalence of worship of images of gods and goddesses of both the Greek and Indian mythology. It is, therefore, a necessity to publish a comprehensive study of the inscription from a number of scholarly view points in a singular issue of the bulletin which deserved to have been published as a special monograph.

We hope to up-date the bulletin with a special number incorporating the papers presented in the National seminar on 'The Mauryas and the National Integration' held recently in the Indian Museum and a general issue with a number of articles on the collection of the Museum. We request the publishers and authors to send two copies of their publications to this office for review.

December, 1997
Indian Museum
Calcutta.

SHYAMALKANTI CHAKRAVARTI
Director

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PREFACE

The present monograph contains a new edition, translation and interpretation of the Rabatak Bactrian Inscription of the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I. The importance of the epigraph, already recognised by scholars, justifies the publication of a full monograph on the record.

In spelling of proper names, we have tried to follow, with a few necessary exceptions, conventional forms. For example the name of the grandson of Kujula (see Chapter II) is written as V'ima Kadphises and not as V'ima Kadaphisa. Doric *San* has been transcribed as *š* in citations from texts and also in the text transcribed in Roman characters, while in other places (in translation and discussion) it is generally transcribed as *sh(a)*. The sound signified by *san* is known to have been expressed by the letter *sh(a)* in Indian sources.

The name "India" stands, unless otherwise indicated, for the whole of the Indian subcontinent. Ancient topographical names have been identified with their modern appellations as far as possible.

I am beholden to Prof. N. Sims-Williams of the School of Oriental and African Studies for sending a complimentary copy of his edition of the Rabatak Inscription immediately after its publication. I am grateful to Prof. Sukumari Bhattacharji, Prof. S.R. Banerjee and Dr. A. Bhattacharyya for allowing me to discuss with them several relevant points in course of preparation of the monograph. I am also indebted to Dr. S.K. Chakravarti, Director of the Indian Museum, for kindly arranging for publication of the monograph in the *Indian Museum Bulletin* series.

The type-script of the monograph has been carefully prepared by Mr. Md. Ghiasuddin. The relevant photographs (including those taken from the reproductions in N. Sims-William's edition and published here on plates II, and IV-X) have been made ready for the press by Mr. Gayen of the Indian Museum. The eye-copies of different sections of the inscription and other written sources and also transcription of the text of the inscription in modern Greek characters have been done by Mr. K. Das on the basis of drafts prepared by me. The plates have been arranged by Mr. Arun Kandar. The index has been prepared by Sm. Samyukta Datta. I am thankful to all of them.

July 1, 1997 B.N. Mukherjee

Calcutta

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An inscribed block of stone, apparently of whitish limestone, was found in a "hill" (mound ?) locally known as Kafir's castle in a locality called Rabatak. The site (36.09 N latitude and 68.24 E longitude) is twenty five miles north of Pul-i-Khumri in the Baghlan area of Kataghan in Afghanistan.[1] (pl.I).

In March 1993 the stone "was found together with fragments of a sculpture of lion (four paws and a part of the mane were found) and architectural elements, including the base of a pilaster and a capital decorated on two sides with circular styled lotus motifs"[2] (pl. II, No.1). All these were noticed by an official party sent by the governor of the area of Baghlan (Mr. Sayyid Ja'far) after hearing that the local people had been digging up in the "hill" bricks (20x10x8cm.) and carved stones for using them to rebuild their war ravaged residences. Earlier the "hill" had yielded sherds of the Kushāṇa period.[3]

A photograph of the inscribed stone was sent to the British Museum by Tim Porter, a British national working in Afghanistan, to get information about the discovery. The slab of lime stone, measuring 90 cm. wide, 50 cm. high and 25 cm.thick, was found inscribed in Greek characters and Bactrian language.

The inscription has now been well edited (with the help of several photographs)[4] by N. Sims-Williams. His reading and translation have proved beyond doubt the extraordinary importance of the epigraph to the study of Kushāṇa history. However, his attempts can still be improved upon. On the other hand, the historical interpretation of the content of the record, as given by Joe Cribb, raises many serious objections. His views, unsubstantiated in many cases, may distort the Kushāṇa history.

A new interpretation of the Rabatak inscription seems to be, therefore, absolutely necessary to assess correctly its implication for the history of the Kushāṇa empire in particular and for that of the Indo-Iranian borderlands in general. An attempt has been made in the following pages to fulfil this need, taking great help from the excellent edition of N. Sims-Williams.[5]

NOTES

1. N. Sims-Williams and J. Cribb, "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, no. 4, 1995/96, Kamakuro (cited hereafter as NBIK), p. 69.
2. *Ibid*.
3. W. Ball, *Catalogue des sites archéologiques d' Afghanistan*, vol. I, Paris, 1982, p. 226.
4. *NBIK*, P. 76
5. *Ibid*., pp. 77f.

CHAPTER II

THE INSCRIPTION

I

The Rabatak Inscription consists of twentythree lines. While there are only traces of letters in the last line, many characters of the two preceding lines have suffered ravages of weather and are obliterated. Several other sections of a number of lines are also partly or fully effaced or at least indistinct at present. So a complete reading and translation of the text are not possible. Nevertheless, enough remains to establish the character of the record.

The inscription is written in Bactrian, a Middle Iranian language in which loan words from Iranian (Old Iranian, Sogdian, Parthian and Saka) and Indian (Sanskrit and Prakrit) sources are traceable.W. B. Henning has observed that "it occupies an intermediary position between Pashto and Yidgha-Munji on the one hand, Sogdian, Khwarezmian, and Parthian on the other".[1] To this list we may add North-Western Prakrit. Ancient Bactria of the late centuries B.C. and early centuries A.D. was situated below the Oxus, to the east of Margiane (including Merv) and to the east and north-east of Aria (including Herat), to the north of the Hindu-kush and perhaps to the west of the Alichur Pamir and the Ab-i-Panja (which is a continuation of the Oxus).[2] So W. B.Henning was probably correct in naming the language Bactrian, following the territory of its main occurrence.[3]

The antiquity of the name of the language is attested by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, which refers to Bāhlīka Bhāshā (Bactrian language).[4] Its affinity to Sogdian was suggested by Strabo, who stated that the Bactrians and Sogdians "speak nearly the same languages".[5]

Unlike the Sogdians, the speakers of the Bactrian language adopted the Greek alphabet to write their speech, probably under the impact of the Hellenistic rule. The use of the language spread to Sogdiana and to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush in the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods.[6] Hsüan-tsang noticed in the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. the use of twentyfive letters[7](i.e. twenty four basic Greek letters and Doric *san*). Among the latest use of the Bactrian language we can refer to the Bactrian version of the Tochi Valley inscription of the year 1032 or A. D. 862.[8]

In the vocabulary of the Bactrian language, so far as it is known to us, we find words of Iranian origin and also, in a much lesser degree, of Indian extraction. We can notice uses of noun, adjective, pronoun, verb, adverb, preposition and conjunction.

All words end in a vowel letter. The most common ending is-*o*. However, words terminating with - *a*,- *e*, *i* and *y* (?) are also known. In the cases of the stems ending in

- *a*, the latter is generally replaced by - *o*, *e* or *i*, as required by the grammatical practice.

The letter *omīcron*, appearing as the final character of a word used in a sentence, works in the majority of the cases as a word divider. It also stands as an indication of a case-ending.

Final-*a* is found in feminine article (like *ia*) and feminine nouns (like *ia* ... *phromana* in an Aīrtam inscription). But final - *o* is found also in feminine nouns (like *ia phromano*, in line 17 as against *phromana* in line 21 of our record).

Final-*e* is noticeable in masculine nouns and adjectives. "In this function - *e* seems interchangeable both with - *o* and with - *e*".[9] Final - *y*, used rarely, may be taken to have expressed the sound of *iota* [as in *ziry* (= śrī) in line 9 of the present epigraph].

The letter *iota* is considered to have been used used an article ("the"). There are two cases— direct and oblique— and two numbers — singular and plural. In direct case (nominative-accusative), - *o* indicates singular number and - *e* plural. In oblique case these are respectively - *e* (šaore) or - *i* (*šaodani*, *šai*) and *-ano* <*ana* (*šaonano*, *bagano*).

If the final - *o* is considered to have "functioned virtually as a word divider",[10] then a plural and not only a singular can be indicated by a word ending in that letter (as perhaps in *probao,* "rulers (s)", in line 6 of our record). Similarly, the identification of a case need not be clearly marked. *Niako* in line 13 of our record, meaning "grandfather", is a noun, while *arougo,* appearing before *iundo* in lines 6-7 and in the phrase indicating " all or whole India", is used in the sense of an adjective.

In Bactrian verbs are mostly in past tense (*kirdo*, "made", *lado*, "gave", *phromado*, "commanded", etc., in our record, *agado,* "came", in a Surkh-Kotal inscription, *ozooasto*, "led out", in a Surkh-Kotal inscription, etc.). *Nibixto* or *nobixto* (in a Surkh-Kotal inscription), means "written", (c.f. Sogdian *npxšt,* past perfect of *npys,* "to write"). The relevant 3rd person plural perfect is *nibixtigendi* (in lines 11 and 17 of our record). Some of the known conjugational indications are-*do* (or-*to*) (*kirdo, nibixto*) (3rd person singular perfect), *anda* (*ando*, *indi* or *indo*) (*zoxirianda, moboando, phroxortindi/o*) (3rd person plural perfect), -*ēio* (*booēio,* "likes to be") (3rd person singular optative) and *ondeio* (*phroxoašondēio* "they like to go away") (3rd person plural optative). [11]

Our knowledge of the Bactrian language is still in its infancy. On the other hand, we are somewhat better informed about the palaeographic features of the Greek script in the Indo-Iranian borderlands from c. 3rd century B. C. onwards on the basis of inscriptions (including Aśoka's Shar-i-Kuna bilingual and Kandahar Greek edicts) and legends on coins of the Bactrian Greeks, Indo-Greeks, Scytho-Parthians, Kushāṇas and others (including later rulers). [12]

The Greek edicts of Asoka have generally well-formed majuscule letters written normally in an upright style, with the characters engraved distinctly. The characters are ordinarily not joined with one another. Letters are well formed on numerous early Bactrian Greek coins. But these are written with a slant in several inscriptions at Ai-Khanum of the Hellenistic age. Lunate sigma is noticeable. In certain cases the characters are engraved in a cursive style. Square and lunate *sigma,* square *omīcron* and "squarish" *rho, ōmega* and *phī* are noticeable on different Scytho-Parthian coins. The number of misformed letters noticeable on the coins of the Indo-Greeks, particularly of the later phase of their rule, increased on the coins of the Scytho-Parthians. On early pieces of reformed coinage of the Kushāṇas the letters are tolerably clear. Gradually cursiveness appears in the forms of the letters. On the coins of the later period of the Imperial Kushāṇas the letters are often slovenly. [13]

The Greek characters in the Bactrian version of the Dasht-e-Nawur record include many ill formed letters. However, the letters are engraved more carefully in the three copies of the Great Surkh-Kotal inscription, particularly in the version published by A. Maricq. The use Doric *san* (or *sigma*), and the employment of *upsīlon*, *omīcron*, etc. for conveying sound other that the primary one are very much noticeable in the Kushāṇa records. The joining of cursive letters with connecting lines, noticeable ocassionally in the Kushāṇa period, became gradually accentuated in the post-Kushāṇa age. [14]

The letters in the readable portions of the Rabatak inscription are not all well-formed. Cursiveness in style of writing can be noticed at least in certain sections of the record. Certain forms of letters have peculiarities, which will be noted in proper places.[15] (pls. IV-X).

II

The initial section of line 1 is effaced. The rest of line 1, line 2 and the major part of line 3 have been deciphered by N. Sims-Williams as *bōgo storgo Kanēške Košano raštogo ladeigo xoazaoargo bago eznogo kidi as* [*o*] *nana odo aso oispoano mi bagano i šaodani abordo kidi iōgo xšono nobasto s(a)gōndi bagano sindado.* The sentence has been translated by the same scholar as ".... of the great salvation, Kanishka the Kushan, the righteous, the just, the autocrat, the god worthy of worship, who has obtained the kingship from Nana and from all the gods, who has inaugurated the year one as the gods pleased."

The initial portion of line1, which is effaced, could have, as suggected by Sims-Williams, contained a date, as in the case of the Dasht-e-Nawur Bactrian inscription (*NBIK,* p. 82). In that case the lost portion in line 1 of the inscription, dated in the year 1 (see below), can be restored as [Iōgo Xšo] no [.]. Bōgo, to be connected with Sogdian *bōg*, may better be translated as "deliverer" (*GMS*, p. 124, sec. 825). *Storgo*, following Avestan *stura*, may be taken to stand for *sturaka*, "great" (*JRAS*, 1980, p. 27). In line 3 *nobasto* (**ni-păsta,* Middle Persian *nibāst*) should literally mean "caused to lie down, laid down or deposited" (*NBIK*, p.82). In that case, the phrase *kidi iōgo xšono nobasto* can be meaningfully translated as "who (has) caused to lie down (i.e.established) the year one". It is well-known that Kanishka (I) started a new reckoning (following perhaps the Indian system of counting dates in regnal years) which, continued by his successors, developed into an era.

The next sentence (11. 3-4) has been read by N. Sims-Williams as *otēia i iōnango oaso ozoasto tadēia ariao ōstado*. He has rendered it into English as "and he issued a Greek edict (and) then he put it into Aryan". In view of the fact that Kanishka (I) permanently discontinued the use of the Greek language in the legends on his official products like coins, [16] the expression *otēia i iōnango oaso ozoasto* may mean "and [he] led out (i.e. discontinued) the Greek speech" (*NBIK*, pp. 82-83). So, unlike the hypothesis of Sims-Williams, Kanishka might not have first issued a Greek edict and then translated in into the Aryan (Bactrian) language. He probably did not at all issue any Greek inscription. The relevant section can then be translated as "and (who has) led out (i.e. discontinued) the Greek speech and then placed (i.e. put into use) the Aryan (Bactrian) speech". Obviously Kanishka (I) did not know that Greek was an Indo-European language and so, in a way, related to the Arya language, referred to in the inscription.

It is interesting to note that the Kushāṇa king, whose parent race, the Yüeh-chih, had once used an Indo-Eurupean language (Tokharian)[17], referred to another Indo-European speech (like the Middle Iranian Bactrian) as Aryan. The Yüeh-chih (Kushāṇa) must have adopted this language in Bactria, which was their adopted homeland in the empire.[18] Here we may have an allusion to the Kushāṇas themselves claiming the status of Aryan (Indo-European). [19] Like the Achaemenid emperor Darius I (522-486 B.C.) Kanishka (I) could indeed have claimed to have been "an Aryan, having an Aryan lineage". [20] It is significant that as the Achaemenid king Darius I referred to Old Iranian as Ariyā, [20a] a similar appellation was given by Kanishka to a Middle Iranian language.

The next sentence (11. 4-7) has been read by N. Sims-Williams as *abo iogo xšon(o) abo [i] iundo phroagdazo abo šatriange šaore agita Kooadēano odo i ōzopo od(o) [i z] agēdo odo i koz(am)bo odo i palabotro oidra oda abo i ziritambo sidēiano probao odo mandar(o) i storano abo i sindo ōstado otē(i)a arou(g)o iundo (abo) i sindo ōstado* [.]

The sentence concerned has been translated by the same scholar as "in the year one it has been proclaimed unto India, unto the whole of the realm of the Kshatriyas, that (as for) them—both the (city of).... and the (city of) Saketa, and the (city of) Kausambi, and the (city of) Pataliputra, as far as the city of Sri-Champa—whatever rulers and other important persons (they might have) he had submitted to (his) will, and he had submitted all India to (his) will".

The name *Iundo* may indicate the original form as *Hi(n)ndu* (c.f. *Miiro <Mihira*), i. e. country of Hindu or India.[21] The expression *abo satriange šaore* can be correctly

rendered into English as "in the realm of the governing (class)"[22] (i.e. in the provinces ruled by satraps or in the satrapies). The name of the first city has been deciphered by N.Sims-Williams as *Kooadēano* (11.4-5). The correct reading is *Koonadēano*, the letter ***nu*** being clearly the last letter in line 4. Its left vertical stroke touches the preceding *omīcron*. The name of the city can be connected with Kauṇḍinya (*Koḍianna* or *Kuaḍiana* in Prakrit), the locality of Kuṇḍina, the capital of Vidarbha.[23] It has been identified with Kauṇḍinya-pura on the Wardha river in the Amaravati district of Berar in Maharashtra[24].

The first letter of the name of the second city is an *omīcron*, touched on the right side by the upper stroke of a slanting *zēta*. The latter is touched on its right side by a slanting *epsīlon*. The following letter, read as *pī*, is really a form of *nu* of the Kushāṇa period. [25] The indication of the continuation of the right vertical stroke with a slant to right above the horizontal line has not been noticed by N. Sims-Williams. The next letter is certainly an *omīcron*. So the reading is *Ozeno* and the name of the city concerned is *Ozenē* (pl. III. fig.l). It can be convincingly identified with Ujeni <Ujjeni <Ujjayinī. It is modern Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh.

The rest of the names of the cities are well read by N. Sims-Williams. Of them Zageda, Kozambo and Palabotra have been respectively identified with Sāketa, Kauśāmbī, Palibothra or Pāṭaliputra and Śrī-Champā (cf. Chashtana> Tiastanēs in Ptolemy's *Geographike Huphegesis*, VII, I, 63). [26] Sāketa was a locality close to Ayodhya in the Fyzabad district of U.P. Kauśāmbī is modern Kosam in the Allahabad district of U. P. Pāṭaliputra was in the area of Patna (including Kumrahar) in Bihar. Śrī-Champā or illustrious Champā was probably located in the area of Champanagara and Champapura near Bhagalpur to the south of the Ganges in east Bihar. [27]

It is interesting to note that Kanishka(I) did not specifically order for proclamation of his victory in such well-known cities in India like Kanishkapura (Purushapura), Pushkalāvatī, Takshaśilā and Mathurā, through these had certainly been in the Kushāṇa empire before he became the supreme sovereign [28] (see also Chapter III). Hence it may be presumed that the cities mentioned here were conquered by himself. The inscription first refer to the two cities in southern directions, indicating the southernmost extension of Kanishka's empire. Then the record speaks of the cities situated to the east and south-east of Mathurā. The Bhagalpur area formed the easternmost limit of the empire. If the vast territory in eastern U. P., southern Bihar, M.P. and Berar were not conquered in the very beginning of the first year of the Kanishka Era, it or a substantial part of it might have been annexed prior to the institution of his own reckoning (for details see Chapter III).

In line 6 *sidēiano probao* may mean "which he (i.e. whichever) the chief (or ruler)" (*probao* < *prabhu*). The expression *mandaro i storano* in line 6 has been translated by Sims-Williams as "important persons". But the first word may be connected with Iranian *māna*, "house" and *dar*, "hold" (or "to hold" = Sanskrit *dhṛi*) (*OPGTL*, pp. 189 and 202;

SED,p. 519) and can be taken to indicate a "a householder". The term *storano* indicates *stūra* ("bulky", "strong", "sturdy", "great", etc.) persons (*AW*, col. 1609; *JRAS*, 1980, p.27). The word *sturaka* appears in a gold plate inscription of the regnal year 14 of Seṇavarman of Oḍi (Oḍiyāna < Udyāna or the Swat area), who was probably a subordinate ruler under maharaya rayatiraya Kuyula Kataphśa. i.e. the Kushāṇa king Kujula Kadphises.[28a] So the expression concerned may mean "great householder". In Buddhist literature gahapati (<*gṛihapati*) commands a high socio-economic status. He is considered as a rich householder of a noble family. The term may also denote one of the seven jewls of a Chakravartin (an emperor). His function is to discern the location of "hidden treasure".[29] It is of interest to note that the above noted gold plate inscription stated that the gold (required for the plate itself ?) was under the case of vali'a's son Makaḍaka, the Gahapati.

N. Sims-Williams continues his reading as *tadi šai kanēške abo šapharo karalrango phromado (a) beina....o Ɓagolango kirdi sidi b.....abo rizdi abo ma ka....raga phareimoano b (a)ga(n)o (k)idi maso kirdāne(e) i ma....*o[*Ph*] *arro omma ooēldi* (11.7-9). This section has been translated by the same scholar as "then king Kanishka gave orders to Shafar the karalrang at this... to make the sanctuary which is called B....ab, in the plain of K...., for these gods, (of) whom the ... glorious Umma leads the service here".

In line 7 the term *karalrango* may indicate a noble man of the rank of an English marquis (Or German margrave) (karāna-dranga, cf. New Pesian kanārang).[30] Otherwise, the term may be connected with *kāra*, "military", "lord", "prince", "master", etc. (*AW*, col. 465; *Acta Antiqua Academie Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. XXV, nos. 1-4, pp. 143-144; cf. *kala*, "prince" in certain Central Asian Kharoshṭī inscriptions).[31] The second part of the term-*lrango* can be related to *draṅga* (cf. *d* of *Druvāspā* changing into *l* in *Lrooaspo* in a Kushāṇa coin legend), meaning "a city" (Sanskrit *draṅga*). So the term may indicate "a master or military cheif of a city."

We propose to read the opening section of line 8 as (*a*)*be i na(n)na (bago)lango kirdi sidi baynabo rizdi*. The relevant form of the letter *upsīlon* (pl. III, no. 2) in *baynabo* is noticeable on Kushāṇa coins. [32] The *omīcron* of *na(n)n(a)o* (pl.III, no.3) has its left side obliterated by the right slanting stroke of *alpha*. It appears that after engraving *omīcron* an attempt was made to effece it and incise an *alpha* between the second *nu* and *omīcron*. So the intended reading may be *na(n)n(a)*, i.e. the goddess *Nanā* (cf. *Pharro* for *Pharo* in Kushāṇa coin legends).[33] Of the term *baynabo, bayn-* may be related to Parthian *b'yn*, "external" (*ELP*, p. 123) and *-abo* can be here taken to indicate "water" (*BW*, p. 147). So *baynabo* can mean "external water". The term *rizdi* (*riz-* "to be called, *NBIK*, p. 94) is correcly translated by N. Sims-Williams as "called". We can now translate the phrase concerned as "for making the Nana Sanctuary, which (is) called (i.e. known for) external water". The locality, where the sanctuary was to be constructed was perhaps already wellknown for availability of water in the surface area. The importance of the availability of water in the locality of a sanctuary in the area of Baghlan of North Afghanistan is made obvious by the fact that the Kanishka-Nicator Sanctuary at Surkh-Kotal, within the limits of the same territory, was once abandoned due to the lack of water-supply.[34]

The last part of line 8 and the first word of line 9 can be read as *abo ma kaēypo* (pl. III, fig. 4) *raga phareimoano b(a)ga(n)o*, meaning "in the Kaēypo plain for these gods." The letter *upsīlon* in *kaēypo* is placed partly below ēta and is connected with it. They form a sort of dipthong, to be pronounced perhaps as *ei* (?). The form of *pī* (pl. III, no. 5) is somewhat peculiar, but it is similar to that of the same letter in *Palabotro* (1.5) where the character concerned has to be read as a *pī*. If *ma* is taken to have developed from **imam* (*NBIK*, p. 91), it can be compared with Sanskrit *imām*, the feminine form *idam* ("this") in accusative singular. *Phareimoano* has been explained by N. Sims-Williams as *Pharo* + *eimoano* ("for these").

The word read by N. Sims-Williams as *kirdan(e)* ("service" of the gods) and is connected with *ooēldi* ("leads") in line 9 does not actually occur there. The relevant clause can be better read as *(k)id(i) (m)aro ziry* (pl. III, no. 6) *pharro omma*, meaning "who (are) Śrī, Pharro and Omma" (=Ambā) [35] (see Chapter III). Since in lines 9 and 10 some other deities are mentioned, the three of them noticed after the term *bagano* may be taken as some of the deities to be worshipped in the sanctuary. In that case, we can meaningfully translate the last word of line 8 and the opening section of line 9 as "for these gods, [of] whom (are) Śrī, Pharro [and] Omma." The next sentence in lines 9 and 10 can be read as *ooēldi ia amsa nana odo ia amsa omma (aoro) mozdo mozdoo(a)no srošardo narasao miiro*. A fair translation will be "the lady Nana leads and the lady Omma, Ahura Mazdah, Mozdooano, Srošardo, Narasao [and] Mihira". It was only natural that in the Nanā Sanctuary she would be the leading deity.

Between Lines 9 and 10 there are traces of writing, as pointed out by Sims-Williams. Just above the last two letters of the name *Srošardo* commences (?) a line (no. 9A), which can be deciphered as *odo (ko)ma(ro) odo maa(s)eno rizdi odo bi(z)ago rizdi)* ("and called Komaro and Maaseno and called Bizago"). It appears that Srošardo (of the Iranian Pantheon) is indicated as identified with certain Indian deities which ultimately merged with one another to form the concept of Skanda or Kārttikeya (Chapter III).

Following N. Sims-Williams, on the whole, the next sentence (in 11. 10-11) can be transcribed as *otēia oudoano pi (dogirbo) phromado kirdi eimoano bagano kidi maska nibixtigendi*. It can be translated as "and he gave same (or likewise) order to make image[s] of these gods who have been written above."

The following sentence (in 11. 11-14) has been deciphered by N. Sims-Williams as *oteia phromado abeimoano šaonano kirdi abo kozoulo kadphiso šao abo i phroniago (o)do a(bo o) oēmo (t) aktoo šao a(b) [o] i nia(g)o odo abo ooēmo kadphiso šao abo (i) pida* *odo abo i xobso abo kanēško šao*. The same scholar has translated the passage as "and he gave orders to make (them) for these kings: for king Kujula Kadphises (his) great grand father, and for king Vima Taktu (his) grandfather, and for king Vima Kadphises (his) father, and also for himself, king Kanishka."

We propose to read this secion as *otēia (phromado) abeimoano (šaonano) kirdi abo Kozoulo Kadphiso šao abo i phroniago (o)do (abo) imo niyako (?) O(?)om* (or *k*)i (or *y*) *Sa(dd)aškano* (pl. III, no. 7) *odo abo Ooēmo Kadphiso šao abo (i) p(i)d(o) (odo abo i) (xobso) (?) abo Kanēško šao*. If our amendments are correct, the section should be translated as follows, "And (he) ordered to make [images] for these kings: for king Kujula Kadphises, for the great grandfather, and for this [person] the grandfather Oomi (or Ooki) Saddaškana and for king V'ima Kadphises, for the father, and for himself (?), king Kanishka".

After a close scrutiny of the published photographs of the inscription we do not find the name of Ooēmo Takto (=Vima Taktu). We notice,instead of it, the term *Oomi* or *Ooki* followed by the name Saddaškano. At least there is no doubt about the absence of ēta before *mu* or *kappa* and this makes the readig *Ooēmo* impossible. Similarly, the appearance of a lunate *sigma* and a little mishappened *nu* (noticeable also on Kushāṇa coins) [36] in the name of the person concerned cancels any reading like *(T)aktoo*.

The name *Saddaškana* reminds us of that of Sadashkaṇa, the Devaputra (Son of God) and the son of maharaja rayatiraya Kuyula Kataphša *(maharaja rayatiraya Kuyula Kataphśa-putra Sadashkaṇo devaputra)*, mentioned in the gold plate inscription of Seṇavarman of the Ishmaho family and the ruler of Oḍi (< Uḍḍiyāna < Udyāna or the Swat area). [37] The epigraph indicates Kuyula Kataphśa or Kujula Kadphises as the living king. [38] Seṇavarman was probably a subordinate or feudatory ruler swearing allegiance to Kujula.[39] Hence Sadashkaṇa, who was a son of Kujula, the great grand father of Kanishka, could have easily occupied in a Kushāṇa genealogical list the position of Kanishka's grand father. In fact, he is mentioned in our record as *niako* "grand father" [Old Persian *niyaka* (*OPGTL*, p. 194)]. No doubt the letter read as *omīcron* in *niako* has a somewhat peculiar form. But it is more likely to represent an *omīcron* than an *alpha*. It may also be noted that the *iota* in *imo* bears a horizontal line cutting it in the middle. It must have been done inadvertently [40] (pl. III. no. 8). The term *imo,* Sogdian (')*mo*, may be compared with the accusative masculine singular form **imam* (Sanskrit *imam < idam*) (*GMS*, p. 206, sec. 1400-1401).

The name *Saddaš kana* or *Sadashkaṇa* (c.f. *Pharro <Pharo* in Kushāṇa coin legends)[41] may literally mean "of high (i.e. great) appearance" (Avestan *sadā* "appearance", Sagdian *'sko*, "high"; and adjectival suffix - *ana*) (*DKS*, pp. 418-19; *GMS*, p. 13). Sadashkaṇa is given an epithet which can be meaningfully reconstructed as *Ooka* (*Ooki* <of *Ooka*, *"Varka"*, "wolf") (*OPGTL*, 206) or more probably as *Oomi* (<*Homī* = Sanskrit *Somī*, "a performer of Soma sacrifice", or Avestan *Haomya*, "belonging to Soma") (*SED*, p. 1251;

AW, col. 1736).[42]

Saddaškana is not given any royal little in the Rabatak inscription. This may indicate that he never ruled as a junior co-ruler or a senior co-ruler or rather as an independent king.[43] No doubt, his effigy was to be installed along with the statues of persons whose names were included in a list of "kings". But this alone cannot prove his rule as a king. In the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, the Pāla king, his fater Vigrahapāla, who is not known to have ever reigned, is given the title of Mahārājādhirāja, [44] "the Great King of Kings". So we may at best concede that Saddaškana might have ruled for a short period as a junior co-ruler.

So it seems certain that Saddaškana or Sadashkaṇa predeceased his father Kujula. Probably such a situation led the Chinese sources to believe Yen-kao-chen, identified with V'ima Kadphises, was the son of Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh, identified with Kujula Kadphises.[45] The *Hou-Han shu* is, however, substantially correct in its statement that "*Ch'iu-chiu*-ch'üeh (Kujula Kadphises) died at the age of more than eighty years, and his son (*sic*) Yen-kao-chen (V'ima Kadphises) succeeded him as king". [46] So as the independent Kushāṇa sovereign, Kujula's successor was V'ima.

The later part of line 14 and line 15 have been deciphered by N. Sims-Williams as *ta sagondi šaonano šao i bagopoo* [ro] *a.... phr(o)mado kirdi tadi šaphare karalrange kirdo eio bagolango*. He has translated this section as "then as the king of kings, the *devaputra....* has given orders to do, Shafar, the karalrang, made this sanctuary". We only like to point out that a part of the sentence after *bagopoo[ro]* and before *phromado* is obliterated and that the three words before *šaphare* are readable with difficulty.

The first few words of line 16 are completely obliterated. Following mainly N. Sims-Williams the rest of line 16 and a part of line 17 can be read as[...]*o karalrango odo šapharo karalrango odo nokonzoko iašto oa* [*ṣto pi*] *do ia phromano*. Here the letter *rho* in *šapharo* has a peculiar appearance. It has a horizontal stroke above the letter and a curved line added to the right side of its lower part (pl. III, no. 9). This feature is not noticeable in *rho* of *šapharo* in line 7 or in that of the same name in line 15. The sentence can be translated again mainly following N. Sims-Williams, as"[then....] the karalranga, and Shaphara, the karalranga, and Nokonzoka [led] worship [according to] the [royal] command."

The rest of line 17, line 18 and whole of line 19 and the first word of line 20 can be deciphered as *(e)imidba bage kidi maro nibixtigendi tadano abo šaonano šao abo Kaneške Košano abo iaoēdani zorrigi lrou(g)o angao(ango) oanindo p.....(indi) od..odi (bagopoor)o aso iōgo xšono abo io xx xšono iundo arougo pada* [*xšano*]. The passage can be translated as "these gods who [are] written here, then [may ensure] for the king of kings, Kanishka the Kushāṇa, for [remaining for] eternal time healhty, secure and victorious.... [and further ensure for the] Son of God [also] having authority [over] the whole [of] India from the year one to the year thousand [and] thousand".

After the initial word Line 20 can be deciphered as *i (ba)golango abo (iōgo) xšano aspado tadi abo i aria moso xšono angar* [*ayo*]. This sentence can be translated as "[until] the sanctuary [was] founded in the year one, to [i.e. till] then the Great Arya year [had been] the fashion". Here we have conected *moso* with Avestan adjective *masan* meaning "great" "important", etc. (*AW*, col. 1154). Similarly *anga*.... may be compared with Avestan *angaraya*, indicating *inter alia* "fashion", "mode" "method", "manner", etc. (*AW*, col. 131.)

The expression Great Ārya year may mean the so-called Old Śaka Era of c.170 B. C. [47] or the Era of the Śaka-Pahlava king Azes (I) of c. 58 B. C. [48] The Śakas and the Pahlavas (Parthians) spoke Iranian dialects, belonging ultimately to the Indo-European or Aryan group of languages. [49] However, in Bactrian inscriptions of the Kushāṇa, late Kushāṇa and Post-Kushāṇa periods the era of c. 170 B. C. was used more than any other reckoning[50] (perhaps with the exception of the Kanishka Era, if future discoveries indicate to that efect). So the reckoning used in the Ārya language, by which name Bactrian is indicated in our inscription, could have been the Aryan era in question. In any case, the Rabatak record clearly indicates that Kanishka disfavoured the use of any reckoning other than the one founded by him. (In this connection see also Appendix I).

The initial portion of line 21 is effaced. The readable portion can be deciphered as *(p)ido ša(o) (ph)ro(ma)na abimo i pearēna ladi abiso(?) paphišo (?) madabigo*. The form of *mu* in *abimo* is very much ornamented. The extended shape of the letter included an *omīcron* (pl. III,no. 10). The term *pearēna* may be connected with Avestan *pərəna,* meaning "full" (when used in the sense of an adjective) (*AW*, col. 894) or with Sogdian *pry'n,*" "dear" (Sanskrit *priya*, "dear", "favourite", etc.) (*GMS*, p. 182, sec. 1207). The term reminds us of the appellation *phreixoadeo*, "loyal (or dear?) to the emperor", appearing in the great Surkh-Kotal inscription and in a legend on an intaglio of the Kushāṇa age [51] (*BW*, p. 190). If *beta* is taken as engraved inadvertently instead of *rho*, the term *madarigo* becomes meaningful, denoting "capital" or "endowment". [52] In that case the sentence concerned can be translated as "according to the royal command, Abimo, [who is] dear [to the emperor], gave capital to Pophisho." The money was given perhaps as an endowment for meeting the expenses of the temple out of the interest on it. [53]

In line 22 we can read meaningfully only as... *šai maz(d)a abo bagano lado*... This portion can be translated as "the great king gave (i.e. offered worship) to the deities". There are traces of letters of another line (no. 23).

III

In the light of the above discussion the record can be transcribed in modern Greek characters and Roman letters and rendered into English in the following way.

A

THE INSCRIPTION IN GREEK CHARACTERS

1. [Ιωγο χρο]νο βωγο στοργο κανηϸκε κοϸανο ραϸτογο λαδειγο χοαζαοαργο βαγο
2. εξνογο κιδι ασ[ο] ναvα οδο ασο οισποανο μι βαγανο ι ϸαοδανι αβορδο κιδι ιωγο χϸονο
3. νοβαστο σ(α)γωνδι βαγανο σινδαδο [·] οτηια ι ιωναγγο οασο οζοαστο ταδηια αριαο ωσ[-]
4. ταδο[·] αβο ιωγο χϸον(ο) αβο [ι] ιυνδο φροαγδαζο αβο ϸατριαγγε ϸαορε αγιτα κοον [-]
5. αδηανο οδο ι οξενο οδ(ο) [ι ζ]αγηδο οδο ι κωζ(αμ)βο οδο ι παλαβοτρο οιδρα αδα αβο ι ζιριτ [-]
6. αμβο σιδηιανο προβαο οδο μανδαρ(ο)ι στορανο αβο ι σινδο ωσταδο οτη(ι)α αρου(γ)ο
7. ιυνδο(αβο)ι σινδο ωσταδο[·] ταδι ϸαι κανηϸκε αβο ϸαφαρο καραλραγγο φρομαδο
8. (α)βε ι να(ν)να βαγολαγγο κιρδι σιδι βουναβο ριζδι αβο μα καηυπο ραγα φαρειμοανο β [-]
9. (α)γα(ν)ο (κ)ιδ(ι)(μ)αρο ζιρυ φαρρο ομμα [·] οοηλδι ια αμσα ναvα οδο ια αμ [-]
10. σα ομμα (αορο)μοζδο μοζδοο(α)νο σροϸαρδο (9a. ….. οδο (κο)μα(ρο) οδο μαα(σ)ηνο ριζδι οδο βι(ζ)αγο ριζδι) ναρασαο μιρο [·] οτηια ουδοα [-]

11. νο πι(δογιρβο) φρομαδο κιρδι ειμοανο βαγανο κιδι μασκα νιβιχτιγενδι [·]οτ [-]

12. ηια (φρομαδο) αβειμοανο(þαονανο) κιρδι αβο κοζουλο καδφισο þαο αβο ι φρ[-]

13. ουιαγο (ο)δο α(βο) ιμο ν(ι)ακο(?) οομ(?)ι(?) σα(ΔΔ)αþκανο οδο αβο οοημο καδφισο þαο αβο

14. (ι)π(ι)δ(ο) (οδο αβο ι) (χοβσο) (?) αβο κανηþκο þαο[·]τα σαγωνδι þαονανο þαο ι βαγοποο[-]

15. [ρο] α..... (φρ(ο)μαδο) (κιρδι) (ταδι) þαφαρε καραλραγγε κιρδο ειο βαγολαγγο[·]

16. [·····]ο καραλραγγο οδο þαφαρο καραλραγγο οδο νοκογζοκο ιαþτο ο[-]

17 α[στο πι]δο ια φρομανο [·] (ε)ιμιδβα βαγε κιδι μαρο νιβιχτιγενδι ταδανο αβο þαον [-]

18. ανο þαο αβο κανηþκε κοþανο αβο ιαοηδανι ζορριγι λρου(γ)ο αγγαο(αγγο) οανινδ [-]

19. ο π..... (ινδι) οδ...δι (βαγοποορ)ο ασο ιωγο χþονο αβο ιο χ χ χþονο ιυνδο αρουγο π [-]

20. αδα[χþανο][·] ι (βα)γολαγγο αβο (ιωγο) χþονο ασπαδο ταδι αβο ι αρια μοσο (χ)þονο αγγαρ[ανο] [·]

21 .....(π)ιδο þα(ο) (φ)ρο(μα)να αβιμο ι πεαþηνα λαδι αβισο(?) παφιþο(?) μαδαβ(ρ)ιγο[·]

22. .... þαι μαζ(δ)α αβο βαγανο λαδο ....

23. ....

B

THE INSCRIPTION IN THE ROMAN SCRIPT

L. 1. *[Iogo xšo]no bōgo storgo kanēške košano raštogo ladeigo xoazaoargo bago*

L. 2. *eznogo kidi as[o] nana odo aso oispoano mi bagano i šaodani abordo kidi iōgo xšono*

L. 3. *nobasto s(a)gōndi bagano sindado [-] otēia i iōnango oaso ozoasto tadēia ariao os[-]*

L. 4. *tado [.] abo iōgo xšon(o) abo[i] iundo phroagdazo abo šatriange šaore agita koon[-]*

L. 5. *adēano odo i ozeno od(o) [i z]agēdo odo i koz(am)bo odo i palabotro oidra ada abo i zirit* [-]

L. 6. *ambo sidēiano probao odo mandar(o) i storano abo i sindo ōstado otē(i)a arou (g)o*

L. 7. *iundo (abo) i sindo ōstado[.] tadi šai kanēške abo šapharo karalrango phromado*

L. 8. *(a)be i na(n)na bagolango kirdi sidi baynabo rizdi abo ma kaeypo raga phareimoano b[-]*

L. 9. *(a)ga(n)o (k)id(i) (m)aro ziry pharro omma [.] ooēldi ia amsa nana odo ia am* [-]

L.10. *sa omma (aoro)mozdo mozdoo(a)no srošardo (l.9a- ...odo (ko)ma(ro) odo maa(s)ēno rizdi odo bi(z)ago rizdi) narasao miiro[.] otēia oudoa* [-]

L.11. *no pi(dogirbo) phromado kirdi eimoano bagano kidi maska nibixtigendi [.] ot* [-]

L. 12. *ēia (phromado) abeimoano (šaonano) kirdi abo kozoulo kadphiso šao abo i phr*[-]

L.13. *oniago (o)do a(bo) imo n(i)ako(?) oom(or k) i(or y?) sa(dd)aškano odo abo ooēmo kadphiso šao abo*

L.14. *(i) p(i)d(o) (odo abo i) (xobso) (?) abo kanēško šao[.] ta sagōndi šaonano sao i bogopoo* [-]

L.15. *[ro] a...(phr(o)mado) (kirdi) (tadi) šaphare karalrange kirdo eio bagolango* [.]

L.16. *[...] o karalranġo odo šapharo karalrango odo nokonzoko iašto o*[-]

L.17. *a[sto pi]do ia phromano[.] (e)imidba bage kidi maro nibixtigendi tadano abo šaon[-]*

L.18. *ano šao abo kanēške košano abo iaoēdani zorrigi lrou(g)o angao(ango) oanind* [-]

L.19. *o p....(indi) od..di (bagopoor)o aso iōgo xšono abo io x x xšono iundo arougo p*[-]

L.20. *ada [xšano] [.] i (ba)golango abo (iōgo) xšono aspado tadi abo i aria moso xšono angar [ayo]* [.]

L.21. *....(p)ido ša(o) (ph)ro(ma)na abimo i pearēna ladi abiso(?) paphišo* (?) *madab(r)igo*[54] [.]

L. 22. *...šai maz(d)a abo bagano lado....*

L.23. *..........*

C

TRANSLATION

LL. 1-3. [The year one?] of Kanishka, the great deliverer, the righteous, the just, the autocrat, the god, the worthy of worship, who [has] obtained the kingship from Nanā and from all the gods, who [has] laid down (i.e. established) the year one, as the gods pleased.

LL. 3-4. And [it was he] who led out (i.e. discontinued the use of) the Ionian speech [and] then placed the Ārya (or Aryan) speech (i.e. replaced the use of Greek by the Aryan or Bactrian language).

LL. 4-6. In the year one it has been proclaimed unto India, unto the whole relam of the governing class [including] Koonadiano [Kauṇḍinya<Kuṇḍina] and the [city of] Ozeno (Ozene) [Ujjayinī] and the [city of] Zageda [Sāketa] and the [city of] Kōzambo [Kauśāmbi] and the [city of] Palabotra [Pāṭaliputra] and so long until (i.e. as far as) the [city of] Ziri-tambo [śrī-Champā].

LL. 6-7. Whichever ruler(s) and the great householder(s) [there might have been, they] submitted to the will [of the king] and all India submitted to the will [of the king].

LL. 7-9. Then king Kanishka commanded Shaphara (Shaphar), the karalranga (=master of the city) to make the Nanā Sanctuary, which is called (i.e. known for having the availability of) external water (or water on the exterior or surface of the ground), in the plain of Kaeypa, for these deities— [of] whom are Ziri [Śrī], Pharo [Farrah] and Ommā.

LL. 9,9A. To lead [are] the Lady Nanā and the Lady Ommā, Ahura Mazda, Mazdoo(a)na, Srosharda, [who is called] ... and Komāro [Kumāra] and called Maaseno [Mahāsena] and called Bizago [Viśākha], Narasao [and] Miiro [Mihira].

LL. 10-11. And he gave same (or likewise) order to make image(s) of these deities who have been written above.

LL. 11-14. And he ordered to make [images or likenesses] of these kings: for king Kujula Kadphises, for the great grandfather, and for this grandfather Saddashkana [Sadashkana], the Soma sacrificer, and for king V'ima Kadphises, for the father, and for himself (?), king Kanishka.

LL. 14-15. Then, as the king of kings, the son of god, [had] commanded to do, Shaphara, the karalranga, made this sanctuary.

LL. 16-17. [Then...] the karalranga, Shaphara, the karalranga, and Nokonzoka (led) worship [according to] the [royal] command.

LL. 17-20. These gods who [are] written here, then [may ensure] for the king of kings, Kanishka, the Kushāṇa, for [remaining for] eternal time healthy, secure and victorious.... [and further ensure for] the son of god [also] having authority [over] the whole [of] India from the year one to the year thousand [and] thousand.

LL. 20. [Until] the sanctuary [was] founded in the year one, to [i.e. till] then the Great Arya year [had been] the fashion.

LL. 21. ....According to the royal command, Abimo, [who is] dear [to the emperor], gave capital[55] to Pophisho.

LL. 22. ....The great king gave (i.e. offered worship) to the deities.

LL. 23. ....

IV

Our reading and translation of the text differ on a number of points from those of N. Sims-Williams. Of these the important ones may be clearly reiterated to facilitate our discussion in the next Chapter (III) on the historical importance of the inscription.

(1) Kanishka(I) did not express the content of the text first in a Greek edict and then in the Aryan (Bactrian) inscription, as thought by N. Sims-Williams. Kanishka (I) actually discontinued the official use of Greek and replaced it for the purpose by Bactrian (1.3)

(2) The name of a certain Vima Taktu does not occur in the inscription as the son of Kujula Kadphises. This name has cropped up due to a wrong reading of the section concerned. According to it, Kujula's son was Saddashkana (=Sadashkana) (1.13), a fact already attested by a Kharoshṭī inscription.

(3) N. Sims-Williams has not recognised that Ozenē and Koonadēana =Kauṇḍinya were included in Kanishka's empire. (1.5).

(4) The importance of expression *mandaro i storano* has not been properly understood by N. Sims-Williams (1.6). They were noble householders (*gṛihapatis*), very well-known in Indian context.

(5) Before the introduction of the reckoning of Kanishka the general "practice" was the use of the Great-Arya era. This point, clear from line 20, has been missed by N. Sims-Williams.

(6) The name of the temple, established by the command of Kanishka, was probably "Nanā Bagolango (or Bagalanga)" (1.8).

NOTES

1. W. B. Henning, "The Bactrian Inscription", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (hereafter BSOAS), vol. XXIII, p. 47.
2. According to Ptolemy, "Baktriane is bounded on the west by Margiane..., on the north and east by Sogdiana, along the course of the river Oxus, and on the south by the rest of Areia, extending from the extreme point towards Margiane" (Ptolemy, *Geographike Huphegesis,* VI, 11,1), Areia, i.e. Aria, or the Herat region was on the west and souh-west of Bactria. Sogdiana of Ptolemy's description was between *inter alia* the Oxus and the Iaxartes rivers (VI, 12, 1-2).
3. *BSOAS*, 1960, vol XXII, no. 1, p. 47.
4. Bharata, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XVII, 48-52.
5. Strabo, *Geographikon*, XV, 2,8.
6. B. Y. Staviski, *Buddhiskie Pescheri, V Starom Termeze, 1963-64*, Moscow, 1969, pp. 47f.; *Bulletin de e'École Francaise d'Exteme Orient* (hereafter *BEFEO*), 1974, p. 18; etc.
7. *Ta T'ang Hsi-yü-chi*, chuan I. Hsüan-tsang noticed the use of twentyfive letters in the Tukhāra country, which included the major part of ancient Bactria and a section of Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus.
8. B. N. Mukherjee, *Central and South Asian Documents on the Old Śaka Era*, Varanasi, 1973 (hereafter *CSADOSE)*, pp. 60-61.
9. *NBIK*, p. 89.
10. W.B. Henning, "The Bactrian Inscription", *BSOAS*, vol. XXIII, 1960, p. 50.
11. In this connection see *ibid.*, pp. 47f; G. D. Davary, *Baktrisch-Ein Wörterbuch,* Heidelberg, 1982 (hereafter *BW*), pp. 136f; *NBIK*, pp. 88-89; etc.
12. The Greek script might have been known in the Indo-Iranian borderlands before the invasion of Alexander. By the term *Yavanānī* Pāṇini of c. 5th century B. C. probably meant the Greek script (*Ashṭādhyāyī*, IV,1,19; V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini,* Lucknow, 1953, p. 312). For a general account about the early development of the Greek script, See D. Diringer, *The Alphabet,* 2nd edition, reprint, London, 1953, pp. 453f.

    An ostracon inscribed in the Aramaic script, unearthed at Ai-khanum, is doubtfully guessed to have been written in the Bactrian language "transliterated into (the) Aramaic script" (P. Bernard, *Fouilles d 'Aï' Khanoum, campagnes de 1971,* Paris, 1972, pp. 631-32 ; F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond, *The Archaeology of Afghanistan,* London, 1978, p.199.

13. B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka,* Calcutta 1984, pls. VI and VIII; P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London, 1886, pls. 1f and XVII and XXVI f; C. Rapin, "Les Inscriptions de la Thésoreie Hellenistique d'Aï Khanoum(Afganistan)", *Bulletin et Corréspondance Hellénique,* 1983, vol. CVII, 1, études, pp. 323f; A Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, reprint, Varanasi, 1962, pls. If.

14. *BEFEO*, vol. LXI, 1974, pl. III; H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler,* Wiesbaden, 1966 *(*hereafter *BS),*vol.II, pls. 1-9, 17-20 and 23-25; B. Y. Stavisky, *op.cit.*, pls. 10f; *BW,* pp. 53f.

15. See particularly lines 13f (*NBIK*, figs 2f, especially 5-7).

16. Greek and Prakrit legends are noticeable on the coins of V'ima Kadphises of the prost-reform period. However, only Greek legend seems to appear on coins of a group of V'ima's copper specie (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1983, vol. XXV, no. 1-4, pp. 106-107). Of the coins of Kanishka(I) a comparatively very small number of pieces bear Greek legends. The vast majority of them display Bactrian legends in Greek characters (R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, vol. I, Oxford, 1914, pp. 186f and no. 186). The feature is noticeable also on the coins of his immediate successors. This evidence clearly indicates a change in the language policy of the Imperial Kushāṇas. Bactrian replaced Greek - an inference now substantiated by the Rabatak inscription.

17. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, Calcutta 1967 (hereafter *KG)*, pp. 23-26; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain* (hereafter *JRAS*), 1966, pp. 9-39; B. N. Mukherjee *The Rise and Fall of the Kushāṇa Empire,* Calcutta, 1988 (hereafter *RFKE*), pp. 12f.

18. *RFKE*, pp. 251f and 407.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 447; B. N. Mukherjee, "The Indo-European Question in Central Asia", *The Aryan Problem* (edited by S. B. Deo and S. Kamath), Pune, 1993, pp. 60-63; *Itihāsera Āloke Ārya Samasyā* (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1994, p. 26.

20. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts, Lexicon,* 2nd edition, New Haven, 1953 (hereafter *OPGTL*), p. 137; Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription, no.a, 11. 14-15.

20a. *Ibid.*, p. 130; Behistun inscripton, column IV, 1. 89.

21. In this connection see B. N. Mukherjee, *Foreign Names of the Indian Subcontinent*, Mysore, 1989, pp. 22-33 and 154.

22. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, reprint, Oxford, 1961, p. 325.

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23. *Mahābhārata, Āraṇyakaparvan*, 76,19; *The Mahābhārata (Text as Constituted in its Critical Edition)*, Poona, 1971, vol. I, p. 488.

24. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (with a *Commentary* by B. N. Mukherjee), 8th edition, New Delhi, 1996 [hereafter *PHAI(8)*], p. 78.

25. R. Göbl, "Grundriss einer historischen Paläographie der Kušān munzen", *Iranica Aniqua*, vol I, 1961, p. 103, row no. 2, fig. no. 8.

26. N. Sims-Williams attributes the credit for identifying Zageda with Sāketa and Ziri-Tambo with Śrī-Champā to Dr. Ranabir Chakravarti of the University of Calcutta (*NBIK*, p. 81).

27. *PHAI(8)*, p. 96.

28. *RFKE*, p. 334.

28a. *JRAS*, 1980, pp. 22.

29. T. W. Rhys-Davids, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London, p. 71; F. E. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol II, reprint, Delhi,1970, p. 214. In the Zeda inscription Kanishka himself is called marjhaka, i.e. *gṛihapati* (Khotani Saka *malysaka= gṛihapati*) (S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* vol. II, pt. I - *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka,* Calcutta, 1929 (hereafter *CII,* vol. II, pt. I), pp. 143-148; H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge, 1979, p. 325). So the term *gahapati* was indicative of a very high socio-economic status.

30. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. CXV, 1965, pp. 77-79.

31. T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoshṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937, p. 82.

32. R. Göbl, *op.cit.*, p. 103, row 18, no. 8.

33. J. M. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967 (hereafter *DAK*), p. 96.

34. *BSOAS*, vol. XXIII, 1960, p. 53; *BS*, pt. I, pp. 83-84.

35. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, Calcutta, 1978 (hereafter *KCLFR*), p. 19.

36. R. Göbl, *op.cit.*, p. 103, row 2, no. 7; row 3, no. 25; etc.

37. *JRAS*, 1980, p. 22.

38. *Journal of the Asiatic Society,* 1981, vol. XXIII, no. 1-2, p. 154.

39. *Ibid.*

40. The form in question represents *phī* on certain coins of Gondophares (I). But the regular form of *phī* in the Rabatak record is quite different from that.

41. *DAK*, p. 96.

42. Note the sound of "h" conveyed by the first *omīcron* in the name Ooē̌ško = Hovēška or Huveška.

43. *RFKE*, pp. 37, 93, 336, etc.

44. A. K. Maitreya, *Gauḍalekhamālā*, Rajshahi, 1319 B. S., p. 60.

45. *Hou-Han shu*, Ssu-pu pei-yao edition, ch. 118, p. 9a.

46. *Ibid.* For justification of identification of Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh with Kujula Kadphises and Yen-kao-chen with V'ima Kadphises, see the *Journal Asiatique*, 1914, s.XI, vol. IV, p. 401, f.n. 1; *T'oung Pao*, 1929, vol. XXVI, pp. 201f; see also *KG*, p. 46 and p. 93, n. 24.

47. For the arguments fixing the initial year of the concerned era in c. 170 and for the reason for attributing the name "Old" Śaka to it, see *CSADOSE,* pp. 56f and 83 f. See also Appendix I.

48. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. XI, pp. 108-111; *Indian Museum Bulletin*, vol. XX, 1985, pp. 8f.

49. K. Hoffman *et.al.* (editors), *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, sec. I, vol. IV, *Iranistik,* Leiden, 1958, pp. 27, 40f and 131f.

50. CSADOSE, pp. 47f.

51. *BS*, pt.II, pl. 20, 1.7; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, pl. XII, no, 18. The suffix- *go* is added to *phreixoadeo-* in the Surkh-Kotal inscription.

52. *NBIK*, p. 88.

53. For the evidence of the use of interest on two endowments for acts of merit during the reign of Huvishka, see the *Epigraphia Indica* (hereafter E1), vol. XXI, pp. 60f.

54. The term *madabigo* is here emended as *madarigo*. The reason for suggesting the emendment has been stated above.

55. See above n. 54.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

I

The name of the earliest known Kushāṇa ruler is learnt from the legends on a series of Attic tetradrachms (and tridrachms?) and a number of obols. The name has been variously read as Heraüs, Heraos, Miaos, etc. Of these the most acceptable reading is *Miaos* (Mia or Miao). The legend on the tetradrachms can be read *Turannountos Miaos Sanab Kossanou*, meaning "during the rule of the absolute (i.e. autocratic) ruler king Miaos of Kossana (i.e. Kushāṇa) [family]" [1]

Miaos obviously belonged to the hsi-hou or yabgu of Kuei-shuang belonging to and dependent on the Great Yüeh-chih race,[2] which had its royal court at a place to the north of the Oxus[3]. Miaos, who can be dated to about the second half of the 1st century B. C.,[4] was the first independent Kushāṇa ruler of the area of Kuei-shuang (the territory somewhere between Wakhan and Badakhshan and to the north of Chitral) in Ta-hsia (which included Wakhan, Badakhshan, Chitral, Kafriristan (?) and intervening areas)[5] . It has been suggested that Miaos probably extended the Kushāṇa rule to the Great Yüeh-chih territory to the north of the Oxus, which was in Sogdiana.[6] Thus the independent Kushāṇa kingdom, founded by about the second half of the 1st century B. C.,had under it a section of north-eastern Afghanistan and at least parts of Sogdiana.

Miaos does not figure in the list of the Rabatak inscription recording the creation of images of the ancestors of Kanishka (I). Hence he probably belonged to a branch of the Kushāṇa family or sept, which had been separate from that of Kujula Kadphises, the great grandfather of Kanishka (I).

According to the *Hou Han-shu*, Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (or Qui-jiu-que) (i.e. Kujula Kadphises*)* "made himself master of the rest of Ta-hsia and invaded An-hsi, took away the country of Kao-fu amd moreover destroyed P'u-ta and Chi-pin .... It (i.e. *Kao-fu*) belonged to the An-hsi and the Yüeh-chih obtained it only after they had defeated An-hsi."[7] So Kujula conquered Kao-fu or the Kabul area from the An-hsi or the Arsacid empire. The excellence of commerce of this locality, referred to in the *Hou-Han shu*[7a], might have lured the Kushāṇas into that area. The Kushāṇas, through whose dominions great trade routes had been in operation, must have been aware of the importance of trade as a source of income for the royal treasury.[8]

Kao-fu or the Kabul country was obviously included in the land of the Paropanisadai, parts of which were located in the Arsacid empire by the *Geographikon* of Strabo,[9] compiled in c. 7 B. C. on the basis of *inter alia* earlier data.[10] This territory was not included in the

Arsacid or the Parthian empire by Isidore, the author of the *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, though the neighbouring Arachosia (including Kandahar area) was taken as a part of that empire.[11] Since Isidore compiled his list of travellers' "stations" in the Parthian empire between c. 26 or 25 B.C. and 1 B.C.,[12] Paropanisadai, including Kabul, was lost by the Arsacids by c. 1 B. C. Thus Kujula conquered the area concerned sometime between c. 7 and 1 B.C.

P'u-ta, Ancient Chinese B'uok-d'ât[13], reminds one of Bactra in Western Bactria. Chi-pin (the name of which can be related to that of Kāśmīra) included, as suggested by the *Ch'ien Han-shu* and *Hou Han-shu*, Kāśmīra and also certain other areas in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent.[14] Thus Kujula entered the extreme north-west of the Indian subcontinent after capturing the greater part of the territory now in Afghanistan. An area above the Oxus was already under the Kushanas since the days of Miaos. There is an indication that Seṇavarman of the Ishmaho family and the rular of Oḍi (i.e. Udyāna) or the Swat area acknowledged his hegemony [14a] (see Chapter II).

Kujula's progress in the north-west is suggested by his "seated male: Zeus standing with a sceptre" coins.[15] The coin-type has already been convincingly assigned to the locality of Taxila.[16] He, however, could not possibly have captured Taxila before A.D. 46, up to which it was under the Parthian rule.[17]

So Kujula reigned from at least the last decade of the 1st century B.C. to c. A.D. 46. According to the Rabatak inscription and also the gold plate inscription of Seṇavarman, Kujula's son was Saddashkana =Sadashkaṇa.(Chapter II), and not Vima Taktu, as has been wrongly thought by N. Sims-Williams and J. Cribb.[18]

Joe Cribb has made an attempt to ascribe certain series of coins to the so-called Vima Taktu. These include some "bull : Bactrian camel" copper pieces, a type of specie bearing inscriptions in Greek characters on both sides and the so-called Soter Megas series.[19]

As admitted by Cribb, Kujula Kadphises struck some copper coins displaying a bull and a Greek legend on one side and a Bactrian camel and a Kharoshṭī inscription on the other.[20] Cribb has published coins of the similar type attributing them to Vima Taktu.[21] Of these pieces the Kharoshṭī inscription on one of them [22] is fairly well preserved. (pl. III no. 11 and pl.IV, no.1). It can be deciphered as (VII) (to be read from outside) *Takshumasa* (XI) (to be read from inside but in the direction to be followed while reading from outside) *śishyatrapasa Ya'etiya* (V) (to be read from outside) *maharajasa* (pl.III, no. 11), meaning "(the coin) of Takshuma, the terror to the ruled, the great king belonging to the Ya'eti". The name Ya'eti can be easily identified with that of the ' Iatioi mentioned by Ptolemy along with the Tokharoi [23] and also with that of the Yüeh-chih (*ngi̯wat-ci̭e* < **ngi̯wat-tēh*), following the suggestions of E.G. Pulleyblank and H.W. Bailey.[24] So the copper coins in question belong to a Yüeh-chih king named or having the title of Takshuma.[24a]

On a piece bearing Greek characters on both the sides Cribb reads *Ooemo Takt...* on the obverse [25] (Pl. IV, no.2). But what he has read as *tau* can be an ill-formed Doric *san* with its semicircle at the top not fully closed. Similar forms of this letter can be noticed on Kushāṇa coins.[26] Here the upward slanting stroke of *kappa* touches the top of *san*, imparting to the latter the false appearance of *tau*. There is a trace of an *omīcron* after the Doric *san*. Hence the legend can be *Ooēmo Takšo...* (pl. III, no. 12).[26a]

The expression *Ooēma Taksho* and the legend referring to Takshuma of the Yüeh-chih race, to which the Kushāṇas belonged, at once connect the coins of these two series with Mahārājādhirāja Devaputra Kushāṇaputra Shāhi Vimo Takshuma of an inscription found on the pedestal of the image of an enthroned king in the ruins of a sanctuary (*devakula*) at Mat (near Mathura), built by the king's temple keeper (*bakanapati*).[27]

The sanctuary at Mat, founded during the reign of Vima (Vimo) Takshuma, apparently belonged to him. In another inscription, found at the same site, the temple (*devakula*) is referred to as belonging to the grandfather (pitāmaha) of Huvishka,[28] and not to just an "ancestor" of Huvishka, as wrongly thought by Cribb.[29] So Vima Takshuma was the grandfather of Huvishka.

Vima Takshuma, the Kushāṇa, can be convincingly identified with king Vhama Kuśa[30] of the Prakrit version of the Dasht-e-Nawur record and with Ooēmȯ Tak (šo) [m]o (pl.III, 13) of its Bactrian recension.[31] Here the latter after *kappa*, has nearly a square shaped character with a curved elongation at the top and a nearly slanting extension of the bottom of the left vertical stroke. An *omīcron* touches the right side of the character looking like an ill-formed Doric *san*.

It is absolutely clear that no known epigraph or coin legend refer to Vima Taktu. As our reading of the Rabatak inscription shows, there was only one Ooēma in the family of Kanishka. His epitehet was Kadphises.[32] So Kushāṇa Vima Takshuma, the grandfather of Huvishka, must be identified with Ooēma Kadphises = V'ima Kadphis(es). It appears that Takshuma was his second title.[33]

The Khalatse inscription of Uvima Kavthisa (or Kavphisa), (i. e. V'ima Kadphises) is dated in the year 187 and not, as thought by Cribb, in the year 287.[34] On the other hand, his Dasht-e-Nawur record is dated in the year 279.[35] Both the dates can be brought fairly close to each other by referring the first to the era of c. 170 B.C.[36] and the latter to the Parthian era of 247 B. C. [37] (see also Appendix 1). The resultant dates, c. A. D. 17 and c. A.D. 32, could well be within the regnal period of one single ruler. However, as we have already noted, Kujula Kadphises reigned at least up to c. A. D. 46.[38] So V'ima was a co-ruler of his grandfather from c. A. D. 17 to 46. It is not certain whether Sadashkaṇa, the father V'ima, was ever a co-rular of the latter's grandfather Kujula. But surely he predeceased his father, probably by A.D. 17, the first known date of his son V'ima as a co-ruler.

As we have already pointed out, the *Hou Han-shu* states that "Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (i. e. Kujula Kadphises). died at the age of more than eighty years and was succeeded by his son (*sic*) Yen-kao-chen (or Yen-gao-zhen)" (i.e. V'ima Kadphises).[39] Since Sadashkaṇa predeceased his father long before the latter's death and since V'ima served as a co-ruler for a long time and was Kujula's ultimate successor on the Kushāṇa throne, the Chinese authors should be excused for wrongly accepting the "grandson" as "son" (see also below n. 190).

II

The *Hou Han-shu* attributes to Yen-kao-chen (i. e. V'ima Kadphises) the credit of conquering T'ien-chu or Shen-tu (meaning the lower Indus country in this context).[40] "Since then the Yüeh-chih have been rich and strong". "In the west it (Shen-tu) is in communication with Ta Ch'in", having commercial relations with the latter.[41] It appears that economic reasons, i. e. the lure of gain out of the trade with Ta Ch'in or the Oriental possessions of the Roman empire, prompted the Kushāṇas to the Sind region on the Arabian Sea.[42]

The Kushāṇa position in Transoxiana, Bactria, Paropanisadai and the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent probably remained in tact in V'ima's period. The evidence of overstriking the Arachosian type (Bust: Nike) copper coins of Gondophares (I) by the elephant rider type of V'ima indicates his success in Arachosia (including the Kandahar area).[43]

In the east V'ima must have advanced up to Mathura, as proved by the inscription on the pedestal of his enthroned statue in the ruins of a temple at Mat near Mathura constructed (under his order ?) by his temple-keeper Humashpala.[44] The Kushāṇa occupation of Mathura must have been effected in or after the "year 116 of the Yavana kingdom" mentioned in an inscription from Maghera near Mathura.[45] The name Yavana in this context may very well refer to the Scytho-Parthian people (who were great lovers of Hellenic culture).[46] The Kushāṇas crushed the Scytho-Parthian hegemony in the "Yavana" kingdom (including Mathura) in or after the year 116. If the date is referred to the Azes Era of 58 B.C., the Kushāṇas occupied Mathura in or after c. A.D. 58-59.[47]

J. Cribb has tried on different occasions to establish "cultural and political ties" between the Kushāṇas and the Khotan area of Chinese Turkestan.[48] He has noted that a "bull and camel" type coin of Kujula Kadphises and some copper coins V'ima Kadphises and Kanishka were recorded to have been found in the Khotan region.[49] According to Cribb, Kujula's coins bearing the name of the Indo-Greek king Hermaeus were used as blanks for overstriking by a king of Khotan. It is also claimed that the "camel" device of the coins of Kujula or "Vimo I Tak(to)" was copied in Khotan. It is further suggested that "a Khotanese king copied the denomination of small Kanishka coins."[50] On several "bull and camel" type copper pieces of V'ima Kadphises, which Cribb now wants to attribute to Vima I Taktu, there is Chinese character (*yü*) on the reverse which is the first of the two characters (*yü-t'ien*) used in the Chinese sources to denote Khotan. These coins are considered to have been "struck on a weight standard of c. 4 grams, which is the same as that used for Sino-Kharoshṭī coins which were struck in Khotan during the first and second centuries A.D."[51] If these observations are correct, not only "political ties" between the Kushāṇas and Khotan is indicated, but also their authority over that territory is suggested.

It was not unnatural for the coins of the Kushāṇas, who were interested in trade, to reach Khotan by way of commerce and even to influence the local metrology and to be used there as blanks for re-striking. All these could have happened without having any Kushāṇa political hegemony over Khotan. This possibility can be considered if only the name of Yü-t'ien (Khotan) is indicated on coins of V'ima Kadphises (or on those of the so-called Vima I Taktu). But what has been read as a Chinese character (*yü*) is really a Kharoshṭī monogram consisting of the letters *ḍha* and *pha* or *tha*.[52] In fact, all the letters in the field on the "bull and camel" type copper coins of Kujula and of V'ima Kadphises (or of the so-called Vima Taktu) can be explained as isolated or combinations of Kharoshṭī characters.[53]

Neither Cribb nor D. W. MacDowall, who, before the former, spoke of the Kushāṇas' "effective political control" in Khotan,[54] has proved their points.[55] There were, however, no difficulty in terms of thinking of cultural, commercial and diplomatic relations between Khotan and the Kushāṇa empire (see also below section VI).

There is no doubt that V'ima reformed the Kushāṇa coinage. We have discussed elsewhere the reason behind effecting the reformation.[56] He probably reformed the currency system in three stages. At first he minted copper coins on the weight standard of Attic tridrachms(or tetradrachms of reduced weight) and Attic drachms(using the "bull and camel" type of his grandfather and with inscriptions in Greek and Kharoshṭī characters). He also issued a second variety of "drachms" in copper ("enthroned king: two figures") bearing legends only in Greek characters.[57] Then V'ima minted the coins of the well-known Soter Megas series.[58] In the legends on the coins of these two series he used his titles and not the personal name, probably under the influence of the practice generally followed by the contemporary Imperial Parthian coinage.[59] Only on one piece his name occurred, perhaps due to a mistake commited by the die-engraver. On this coin the Prakrit inscription can be read as *Maharajasa Rajatirajasa Tratarasa Vamasa*.[60] In the final stage V'ima introduced gold coinage on the Roman standard and copper pieces following the Attic metrology.[61] The coins of the final series bear Greek legends in Greek characters and Prakrit legends in the Kharoshṭī script. Only the Greek legend was used in a variety of copper coins.[62] This practice was perhaps initially followed by his son Kanishka (I), who, however, soon changed over to the use of the Bactrian legends in the Greek script (see also Chapter II).

It is not certain whether V'ima started the process of reformation while he was a co-ruler of his grandfather. This was, however, unlikely because of the possibility of incompatibility of the first two series of V'ima's specie with some features of his grandfather's coinage(specimens of which, unlike those of V'ima's first two series, displayed the royal name). Perhaps in the Kushāṇa empire the junior co-ruler did not strike coins.

In that case, V'ima perhaps began the process of reformation after he became the independent sovereign of the empire in or shortly after c. A.D. 46 (see above sec. I). The fact that V'ima adopted the well-known "King at altar" coin-device from the coins of the Imperial Parthian monarch Gotarzes II (A.D. 38-51)[63] as one of the obverse types of his coins bearing his names tallies well with the suggested date of reformation. This evidence also perhaps indicates his success in a territory earlier held by Gotarzes II.

We have noted above that Kujula could not have ended his reign before c. A. D 46. The exact duration of his reign can be determined only by fixing the date of the commencement of his son's reign as an independent sovereign.[64]

III

The Rabatak inscription, as noted earlier (Chapter II), clearly indicates that Kanishka (I), the son of V'ima, introduced the system of counting dates according to his regnal years. He apparently followed an Indian practice. Kanishka I disfavoured the use the "Great Arya Era" (= the era of c. 170 B.C.?) or any other reckoning (like the Azes Era of 58 B.C.or the Parthian Era of 247 B.C.). At least this is implied by the line no. 20 of the Rabatak record.

The grand, though impractical, wish expressed in the Rabatak inscription that Kanishka I might rule "from the year one to the year thousand and thousand" should be taken as a hyperbolic statement and not as an allusion to the foundation of a new era formally. Kanishka I changed the system of counting dates in the sense that he fovoured the recording of dates in his empire following his regnal years, at least after he had become the independent sovereign (see below section IV). If Kanishka I was his father's co-ruler for some years, there was no difficulty to announce the conquests as a co-ruler in the very first year of his independent reign (Chapter II). Otherwise, we shall have to believe that all these conquests were effected well within the first year of his independent reign. In any case, the "year 1" mentioned in the Rabatak inscription must indicate the first year of his reign (as an independent monarch).

The regnal years of Kanishka I (1-23) continued to be used by his co-ruler and successor Vāsishka (20-28)[65] and the latter's co-ruler and successor Huvishka (25 or 26-60) and also the latter's successor Vāsudeva I (64 or 67 to 98) and also by Huvishka's co-ruler Kanishka II (41). Thus the reckoning introduced by Kanishka I developed into a regular era. It is called by scholars as the Kanishka Era.

Some years ago we published an inscribed sculpture (no. 138654) in the collection of the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco. It refers to the reign of Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāsudeva and to the year 170.[66]

There is no difficulty in recognising the figure for "hundred". The decimal figure can best be read as "70". [67] However, one may argue that the intended reading could have been "40".[68]

The year 170 or 140 cannot be literally taken to be a "regnal year", since 170 or 140 will be too long a period for a person to rule physically. Moreover, the date in a record referring to the period of one of the two Kushāṇa rulers called Vāsudeva, both of whom ruled after Kanishka I, must be logically attributed to the Kanishka Era.

This date (170 or 140) proves the continuity of the Kanishka Era in its second century and suggests that the king in question should have been the second and not the first king of that name. Vāsudeva I is known to have ruled from the year 64 or 67 to the year 98 of the Kanishka Era, and so in a period much earlier than the year 170 or 140. So the epigraph in question should assigned to the reign of Vāsudeva II, the last known Kushāṇa emperor.[69] His rule has so far been indicated by coins and Chinese and Armenian texts.[70]

The greater part of the Kushāṇa empire (including the capital Bactra or Balkh) was annexed to the Sasanid empire of Shāpūr I (241-272) by c. A. D. 262.[71] Vāsudeva II, who ruled over the western as well as the eastern part of the empire[72] and who had been on the throne in c. A.D. 230,[73] might well have ended his reign by that date (A.D. 262). Hence the year 170 or 140 of the Kanishka Era should be placed in or before c. A.D. 262. This means that the first year of this reckoning cannot be placed after (c. A.D. 262-170 =) c. A. D. 92 or (c. A. D. 262-140 =) c. A. D. 122. If we remember that the annexation could have been done by the early years of Shāpūr I (A.D. 241-272), then it will be difficult to put the year 1 of the Kanishka Era beyond the 1st century A. D., even if the reading "140" is accepted.

Kanishka I may be more precisely dated if a relationship can be established between him and the Kshatrapa ruler Chashṭana, whose known dates are surely to be referred to the era of A.D. 78.[74] Chasṭana, the Kshatrapa ruler of western India and parts of the Deccan, is described in some of his coin legends as a Rājan Kshatrapa and in some as a Rājan Mahākshatrapa.But no title is attributed to his father Ysamotika, also referred to in these legends.[75] This shows that Ysamotika was probably a private individual and that his son was the first member of his family to assume political or administrative power. Though the term *rājan* literally denotes "a king", its appearance along with the gubernatorial title of *Kshatrapa* or *Mahākshatrapa* in the coin-legends in question may suggest its use, like that of the title *Mahārāja* in the Gupta period, [76] by a dependent ruler. Such a hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that Chashṭana, who could not have inherited the title of *Kshatrapa* or *Mahākshatrapa*, used the lower administrative designation in addition to or rather earlier than using the higher one. Had he been independent from the very beginning of his career and still wanted to use a satrapal title, it would have been natural for him to assume only the higher satrapal designation. This inference and also the claim made in the Junagadh inscription of about the year 72 that Chashtana's grandson Rudradāman (I) acquired the title of Mahākshatrapa by himself (*svayamadhigata-Mahākshatrapa-nāma*)[77] may suggest that his family owed allegiance to a superior power at least up to the beginning of his rule as a Mahākshatrapa. Of the contemporary powers known to have ruled near the domain of Chashṭana, the Sātavāhanas were his arch enemies, [78] but not the Kushāṇas. And since the widest known extent of the territory of the family of Rudradāman I makes it near to (or even partly overlapping with the widest extent of the contemporary Kushāṇa empire),[79] the sovereign overlord or overlords might have belonged to the imperial Kushāṇa family.

Since Chashṭana began to rule by the year 11 of the era of A. D. 78 or A. D. 88-89,[80] his superior overlord should have been Kanishka I, whose reign commenced (as demonstrated above) by A. D. 92 (or 122), or the latter's predecessor V'ima Kadphises. As a subordinate ruler Chashṭana was expected to follow the reckoning used by his superior overlord. In that case V'ima, no record of whose reign refers to a year below even the figure of 100, could not possibly have fulfilled that role. On the other hand, the known regnal years of Kanishka vary from the year 1 to 23. As we have noted above, this system of reckoning developed into an era, now called by scholars as the Kanishka Era.[81] Hence Chashṭana could have used the reckoning of Kanishka I. [82]

It should be noted that the Andhau inscription of Chashṭana, dated in the year 11 (see above), has been found in Kachchha,[83] which is contiguous to the lower Indus reign, which has yielded the Sui Vihar record of Kanishka I of the same year.[84] The absence of a reference to Kanishka from the Andhau inscription of Chashṭana cannot be held as an objection against the feasibility of the latter's subordination to the former. A number of inscriptions found within the known limits of and datable to the age of the Kushāṇa empire refers to the years of the Kanishka Era and to the ruling Kshatrapas, but not to the reigning Kushāṇa monarchs.[85] Since the Andhau inscription of the year 11 was a private record, the issuer was not bound to be precise in naming the ruling heirarchy. It was enough for him to refer to the ruler of the land, with whom the administration of the area was immediately concerned, and to the reckoning used by that administration.

It follows from the above discussion that Chashṭana used the reckoning of Kanishka I. On the other hand, as it is universally admitted, the group of Chashṭana regularly used the era of A. D.78. Hence the Kanishka Era should be taken as the same as the era of A. D. 78. The name "Śaka" was tagged to the era concerned in a later period, probably because it was made popular in western India by the Śaka (or Śaka-Pahlava) satrapal rulers.[86]

The above data support strongly the theory advocating the identification of the Kanishka Era with the Śaka Era of A. D. 78. The above data and the inference reveal the hollowness of J. Cribb's suggestion that "the widely used association of the Kanishka I Era and the Shaka (*sic*) Era is no longer tenable."[87]

IV

The Rabatak inscription claims that in the year 1 Kanishka (I)'s authority was proclaimed in India, in all satrapies and in different cities like Koonadēano, Ozenē, Kozambo, Zagēdo, Palabotro and Ziri-Tambo (11.4-5). It is interesting to note that these cities, identified in Chapter II, lay to the east and south of Mathura, up to which locality V'ima had already conquered. So these cities in different areas must have been captured or subdued by Kanishka I himself.

Kozambo or Kauśāmbī has been identified with modern Kosam in the Allahabad district of U. P. An inscription of the year 2 of the reign of Kanishka I has been discovered in that locality, while excavations conducted there have yielded a seal impression and one (or two?) pedestal inscription(s) referring to him.[88] Stratified evidence of coins unearthed here suggests that the Kushāṇas conquered the area from a family of rulers whose names ended in-*mitra*.[89] One of the three Sarnath epigraphs, dated in the year 3 of Kanishka I's reign, records some acts of merit at Bārāṇasi (Vārāṇasi) by a friar called Bala together with Kshatrapa Kharapallāna and Kshatrapa Vanaspara, while another inscription speaks of installation of an image by Mahākshatrapa Karapallāna and Kshatrapa Vanaspara on behalf of Bala.[90] We do not know whether Kosam (Kauśāmbī), which is not too far away to the south-west of Vārāṇasī, was included within the satrapy ruled by the same Kshatrapas.

Zagēdo has been identified with Sāketa near Ayodhyā in the Fyzabad district of U.P. The Tibetan work *Li-yul-gyi Lo-ṛgyus* states that "originally king Kanika (Kanishka), the king of Guzan, and the Li ruler Vijayakīrti and others led an army into India and captured a city named So-ked".[91] The *Hou Han-shu* records the conquest of the country of Tung-li which had its capital a Sha-ch'i, [92] identified with Saketa.[93]

An inscription from Sahet-Mahet in the border region between the districts of Gonda and Bahraich of U. P., records an act of merit done in the reign of Kanishka by a monk at Sāvasti (Srāvastī).[94] Like Ayodhyā or Sāketa, Srāvastī (Sahet-Mahet) was within the limits of ancient Kosala.[95] The region was conquered by Kanishka I probably from a family of local rulers, with names ending in-*deva* or-*datta*. This group, known from local coins of Ayodhyā, ruled from some time of c. 2nd century B.C. to the 1st century B.C. or even 1st century A.D. [96] To this group we may assign Dhanadeva of an Ayodhyā inscription of c. 1st century A.D.[97]

The *Fu-fa-tsang yin yüan chuan* by Chi-chia-yeh and T'an-yao states in one of its sections that "the king of Pāṭaliputra is attacked by the king of the Yüeh-chih named Chan-t'an Chi-ni-cha, and as a ransom he offers the most valuable things of his kingdom, the sage Aśvaghosha, the Buddha's alms bowl and a luck-bringing hen. Chi-ni-cha accepts the gifts and withdraws his army to his own country".[98] Chen-t'an Chi-ni-cha has been identified with Chandan or "brilliant" Kanishka (I).[99] The *Ma-ming pu-sa chuan* records that the king of the Little Yüeh-chih (should be Great Yüeh-chih)" invaded Magadha and demanded the surrender of the statue of the Buddha and Aśvaghosha".[100]

Palabotro, i.e. Palibothra or Pāṭaliputra (in the area of modern Patna including Kumrahar), was the capital of Magadha (now in south-west Bihar). The evidence of the Rabatak inscription suggests its inclusion in the empire of Kanishka I. So, even if, following literary sources, we believe that Kanishka I allowed the local king to continue to rule, he probably did so as a vassal (or a tributary ruler). His subordination to the Kushāṇas was complete.[101] There are indications that the subordinate ruler of Magadha belonged to a local ruling family the names of scions of which ended in-*mitra*.[102]

It appears from the Rabatak inscription that in the east Kanishka's empire extended up to Ziri-Tambo, i. e. Śrī Champā (Chapter II). Champā was the capital of the territory of Aṅga. It was located in the area of Champanagar and Champapura near Bhagalpur in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar.[103]

Thus in the east Kanishka I's empire extended at least up to the Bhagalpur region. It is not certain whether the Kushāṇa hegemony was extended to an area of north Bihar to the north of the Ganges. However, there are indications of the rule of a family, the royal title of which was Meu-lun, in or near the area of Tīrabhukti (Tirhut) in north Bihar in about the middle of the 3rd century and so at a time when the Kushāṇa empire, then much to the west of this region, was at its last stage, if not already dead.[104] The title of Meu-lun, i.e. Muruṇḍa, was ascribed to Kanishka himself in the Zeda inscription, which refers to him as "muroḍa" (< Saka word *Muruṇḍa*, "Lord").[105] So it is not impossible that the family in question, which had also connections with the group of Chashṭana, [106] had earlier served the Kushāṇas in Tīrabhukti and later became independent.

We may now turn our attention to the question of determining the southern extension of Kanishka's empire as indicated in the Rabatak record. According to it, Kanishka had under his rule the region of Koonadēano or Kauṇḍinya (Kuṇḍina), already identified by us with the locality of Kauṇḍinyapura on the Wardha in the Amraoti district of Vidarbha or Berar in Maharashtra (Chapter II). The same inscription also indicates the authority of Kanishka over Ozenē, identifiable with ancient Ujjayinī and modern Ujjain in western M.P. (Chapter II). Ujjayinī was the traditional capital of Avanti, which included western Malwa and stretched at times up to Māhishmatī on the Narmadā (modern Maheswar or Mandhata).[107]

The Kushāṇa rule in Ākara in Eastern Malwa (including Vidiśā or Bhilsa and Sanchi) is already attested by epigraphic records like the Sanchi inscription of Vaskushāṇa (i.e. Vāsishka Kushāṇa) of the year 22 (of the Kanishka Era)[108] and the Sanchi inscription of Vāsaska (i.e. Vāsishka) of the year 28 (of the same reckoning).[109] Since the reign of Kanishka I continued up to the year 23 of his reckoning, Ākara might have been annexed to the empire during his reign. In the year 22 Vāsishka was his co-ruler.

The regions of Ākara, Avanti and Vidarbha (situated not very far to the south of the first two areas) were most probably captured from the Sātavāhanas. The rule of early Sātavāhanas in these territories are indicated by the epigraphic and numismatic data.[110] On the other hand, the Kshaharāta ruler Nahapāna,who had a long rule of at least fortysix years (spanning from about the middle of the 1st century A.D. to the late 1st century A.D. or early 2nd century A.D.),[111] is not known to have ever controlled Avanti, Ākara or Vidarbha, though he had his capital at Minnagara (modern Mandasur in north-west M. P.), which was not very far to the north-west of Ujjayinī.[112]

We may refer to an interesting legend in Chapter XI of the *Yu yang tsa tsu*, composed by Tuan Ch'eng-che in c. A. D. 860. [113] It narrates a story of success of Kanishka (I) against king So-to-p'o-hen (Sātavāhana).[114] Bereft of all legendary elements, the story may have a historical core indicating that the prospect of economic gain from control of trade motivated Kanishka's campaign against the Sātavāhanas.[115]

It is interesting to note that Kōsa, where, according to Ptolemy, "diamonds are found", [116] was, as indicated by the context of Ptolemy's description, not very far from eastern Malwa or Ākara.[117] The name Ākara itself literally means "mine". Rudradāman I, who in c. A.D. 149-50 had Ākara under him, claimed that his treasury was overflowed with precious stones including *vajra* or diamond obtained through tributes, tolls and shares (*bali-śulka-bhāga).*[118]

As it has been convincingly shown by E.H. Warmington, Ptolemy's purpose behind referring occasionally to some Indian places as sources of certain commercial products was to indicate that such articles had "recently" gained importance to traders involved in Indo-Roman commerce, from whom he mainly collected the latest information on India.[119] Tāranātha referred, though long after our period, to the rule of Kanika (= Kanishka I) in Tili (or Dili) and Mālava (including the area of Ākara) and his living "in great wealth" as a result of discovery of diamond mines in that region.[120]

Thus the prospect of economic gain might have motivated Kanishka to wrest a part of the Sātavāhana kingdom. But there is no evidence of his further success in this regard if his final aim was also to reach the commercially important ports on the coast of western Deccan through the domain of the Sātavāhanas or Nahapāna.

Kanishka I' victory was proclaimed in far-flung localities in the northern, eastern, central and Deccanese zones of India in the very first year of the Kanishka Era. Obviously he could not have gained so much territory in different directions in less than a year. Thus all of the areas or at least most of them were annexed to the Kushāṇa empire by Kanishka I during the reign of his father V'ima Kadphises. As a co-ruler he was a king, though a junior king or a "second" or an "assistant" king (fu-wang) in the language of the Chinese.[121]

The implication of this inference is that the territories concerned (or most of them) became within the limits of the Kushāṇa empire during the reign of V'ima as the senior king or supreme sovereign. His reign ended before the commencement of the first year of the Kanishka Era in A. D. 78.

V

If Chashṭana served Kanishka in Kachchha (including Andhau), he might have been sent there to penetrate the coastal areas of Surāshṭra and western Deccan (which formed an important zone for Indo-Roman commerce). But Chashṭana had to wait for a long time, even after the end of Kanishka I's reign, to gain considerable success in that direction.[122]

Outside India Kanishka I might have scored military success against the An-hsi or the Arsacids, as claimed by the *Fu fa-tsang yin yüan chuan*. [123] The Arsacid adversary could have been either Vologases I (A.D.51/52-79/80) or Pacorus II (A.D. 78-115/116).[124] Kanishka I was also active in the Pamir region. The *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü-chi* of Hsüan-tsang describes him as leading his troops even to the east of the Tsung-ling (Pamirs). "The rulers of the frontier tribes in the region to the west of the River (Ho or the Yellow River) stood in awe of him and sent (their sons as) hostages".[125] One of the monasteries where the hostages lived during the summer season was called Sha-lo-chia (pronounced *Ṣa-lâk-ka* in Ancient Chinese).[126] If the name is connected with Śulika, Chinese Su-le or Kashgarh, then the hostages (or a group of them) hailed from that area.[127]

The relation of the Kushāṇas with the Han empire was, on the whole, not bad until the second year of the yung-yüan era (c. A.D. 90) when "the Yüeh-chih sent their fu-wang ("assistant or second king", i.e. the co-ruler) Hsieh" with a great army to attack the Han general Pan (or Ban) Ch'ao. The Yüeh-chih army was routed, though Hsieh was allowed to return alive.[128] The co-ruler in this case was probably Vāsishka.[129]

This misventure on the part of the Kushāṇas, however, did not cause any diminution of their territory. The Kushāṇa possessions in Transoxiana, Bactria, Paropamisadai, Arachosia and the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent (including *inter alia* Sind, N.W. F.P., the undivided Punjab and the extreme north-west incorporating the Hunza area and Kāśmīra)[130] remained intact. The same may be said about parts of the land up to Mathura (including perhaps sections of Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan and U.P.). The conquests effected by Kanishka I himself to the east and south of Mathura have already been discussed. We have also indicated the extension of his authority to Kachchha.[131]

VI

Vāsishka (20-28) was a co-ruler up to the year 23 and an independent soverign (or the senior king) from about the year 24 to the year 28, [132] and Huvishka was a co-ruler from the year 25 or 26 to 28 and then the independent or senior king up to at least the year 60 (with Kanishka II as the junior king for a short period in and about the year 41).[133] They and their successors Vāsudeva I (year 64 or 67 to 98), [134] Kanishka III (from sometime in about the last quarter of the 2nd century A.D. to about the second decade of the 3rd century A.D.)[135] and Vāsudeva II (from about the second decade to sometime in the second or in early third quarter of the 3rd century A.D.)[136] were able to keep more or less intact the Kushāṇa possession from Central Asia to Mathura.[137]

This information can be drawn from various literary, epigraphic and numismatic data.[138] It appears from the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of the Sasanian monarch Shāpūr I (A.D. 241-272), the draft of which is dated to c. A.D. 262, that the Kushanshahr (Kushan country) at the last stage of the Kushāṇa empire and before the annexation of at least a part of it to the Sasanid empire stretched up to Skstn (Seistan), Ḥryw (Herat), Sogdiana or Swgd (meaning in this context a small area between Samarkand and Bukhara on the Zaravshan river), Sh'as ('ast'n) (Tashkent) and K'sh (Kashgarh).[139] On the eastern side the area of Mathura have yielded numerous epigraphs of Huvishka, and Vāsudeva I and at least one inscription of Vāsudeva II.[140]

Of these Kushāṇa monarchs Huvishka might have been able to extend the north-western limit of his domain to the area to the immediate east of Mu-lu or Merv in Turkmenistan.[141] He also exerted influence in the territory of Su-le (Kashgarh).[142]

However, we have no evidence about the continuity of the Kushāṇa hegemony to the east of Mathura (in the Mathura district) and Ahichchhatrā(Ramnagar in the Bareily district) from the time of Vāsishka (as the senior king ?) or at least from the time of Huvishka.[143] If it has been rightly claimed that a fragmentary stone inscription, found at Garhwa (presumably near Kosam) refer to the reign of Vāsishka, [144] then his authority might have extended in southern U.P. up to that area.[145]

The absence of an energetic ruler like Kanishka I and the difficulty of effecting direct control over the far-flung eastern provinces might have encouraged a process of their gradual secession from the empire. Even if such may have been the case there is no evidence of any general or concerted revolt of the eastern territories against the Kushāṇas. The excavations conducted at several sites to the east, north-east and south-east of the Mathurā region do not indicate any violent end of the Kushāṇa rule in those areas. The transition from the rule of the Kushāṇas to that of their successors in those territories seems to have been peaceful.[146] It appears that administrative difficulties, and perhaps also strategic inconvenience and comparative unimportance of these provinces in the contemporary Indo-Roman trade, in which the empire was vitally interested, [147] probably prompted the Imperial Kushāṇas to withdraw voluntarily from there.[148] Local personages and the erstwhile representatives of the Kushāṇas could have filled up the vacuum caused by the withdrawal. The withdrawal might have been effected in one single period. Or it might have been done gradually starting from the days of Vāsudeva I or Huvishka or even Vāsishka.[149]

The Kushāṇa control of at least Ākara, a commercially important area, continued up to the last known year (28 = A. D. 105-106) of the reign of Vāsishka.[150] The area could be reached from Kauśāmbī,[151] up to which locality in the east (if not any other area in further east) Vāsishka's authority might have been acknowledged (see above). Ākara as well as Avanti and Vidarbha, or in other words all the provinces of Kanishka's empire in Central India and the Deccan, were within the kingdom of the Sātavāhana monarch Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, as claimed in the Nasik *praśasti* of his mother Gautamī Balaśrī.[152] The conquest of these territories could have been possible only after Gautamīputra destroyed the Kshaharāta ruler Nahapāna in or shortly after the latter's 46th regnal year and in or shortly before his own 18th regnal year. [153] The uncertain number of years must have been very small if we consider the evidence of the Nasik inscription of the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi re-granting a land in the territory of Govardhana (including Nasik) which had been till "to-day" (i.e. till very recently) under the control of Usavadāta (*ya khetaṁ ajakalakiyaṁ Usavadātena bhūtam*), [154] the governor of Nahapāna in a part of western Deccan including Nasik. If Nahapāna had begun to rule by about the middle of the 1st century A.D., his last known year cannot be placed either beyond or appreciably earlier than the end of 1st century A.D. So Gautamīputra crushed Nahapāna and captured the latter's territories in the Kathiawadh peninsula and other parts of Gujarat and in sections of M.P., Rajasthan and Western Deccan [155] in about c. A. D. 100. On the other hand, since the last known regnal year of Gautamīputra Sātakarni is the year 24, [156] he should have been in possession of Ākara, Avanti and Vidarbha by or before that year, i. e. by about A. D. 106. By about that year , as indicated above, the Kushāṇa rule could have ended in Ākara. It is, however, not certain whether Gautamīputra conquered Ākara directly from the Kushāṇas or from a local ruler controlling the area immediately after the Kushāṇas lost effective control over it. The Nasik *praśasti*, which brags about the destruction of the Kshaharāta family (of Nahapāna) by Gautamīputra, does not specifically refer to his victory over the Kushāṇas.[157] However, one may argue, though not very convincingly, that the Kushāṇas are alluded to in the description of Gautamīputra as responsible for "the destruction of the Śaka, Yavana (and) Pahlava(s)" *(Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava-nishūdana)*.[158] In any case, Gautamīputra captured Ākara (Avanti and Vidarbha ?) in c. A.D. 106 (coinciding roughly or partly with his 24th regnal year and the 28th year of the Kanishka Era) after destroying Nahapāna in c. A.D. 100 (and in or very shortly before his 18th regnal year).[159]

Chashṭana, the agent of the Kushāṇas in Kachchha, had to wait for a long time before he could capture a substantial territory outside that area. Ptolemy, who had among his informers people coming from Simylla [160] or Chaul near Bombay, was expected to be fairly up-to-date in his knowledge about western Deccan. This area was included by Ptolemy in the domains of Tiastanēs (or Chashṭana)with his capital at Ozēnē [161] and of Siri Polemaios (or Ptolemaios) having his capital at Baithana [162] (i.e. Pratishthāna or modern Paithan in the Aurangabad district). The latter is identified with the Sātavāhana king Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the son and successor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.[163] In the domain of Tiastanēs or Chasṭana, Ptolemy included such far-flung towns like Barygaza (Broach), Minnagara (Mandasur), Tiatoura (Chittaura < Chitrapura = Chitor ?), Nasika (Nasik) and Ozēnē (Ujjain).[164] Since Nasik was in continuous possesion of the Sātavāhanas from the year 18 (c. A.D. 100) to the year 24 (c. A.D. 106) of the reign of Gautamīputra[165] and for at least 22 years of the reign of his son Puḷumāvi [166] and so up to (A.D. 106 +22)= c.A.D. 128, Chasṭana could not have captured Nasik before the last noted year. On the other hand, since Ptolemy does not refer to the conjoint rule of Chasṭana and (his grandson) Rudradāman (I), which is indicated by Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 or A.D. 129-30,[167] Chashṭana's domain, as indicated by Ptolemy, was carved out by c. A. D. 128-29.[168] If Chashṭana was still then serving the Kushāṇas, the hegemony of the empire expanded substantially in central and western India and western Deccan during the reign of Huvishka (c. A.D. 102/03 or 103/04 to 137/38). Among the new possessions was Barygaza, the port of great significance in Indo-Roman commerce.[169]

However, sometime between c. A.D. 128-129 and c. 149-50 the family of Chashṭana usurped the supreme power in the domain ruled by it. The Junagadh inscription of c. A.D. 149-50 and of the period of Rudradāman I, the grandson of Chashṭana, claims that he controlled, as an independent ruler, a large number of areas, the identifications of which indicate the lower Indus region, Kachchha, Kathiawadh, parts of eastern Gujarat, western M.P. (including Malwa), north-western Deccan (including the area of ancient Aparānta) and parts of Rajasthan.[170] Most of these areas were wrested by his family from the Sātavāhanas.[171] Rudradāman's possessions not only included Ākara and Avanti (but not Vidarbha), which had been once under the Kushāṇas, but also Sindhu and Sauvīra (western and eastern part of the lower Indus country), which had been directly under the Kushāṇas perhaps up to sometime later than the commencement of the reign of Vāsudeva I [172] (A. D. 141/42 or 144/45 to 175/176).

Deprived of the commercially important ports, the fortune of the empire, dependent to an extent on the Indo-Roman commerce, began to decline, from sometime in the beginning of the reign of Vāsudeva I.[173] It should also be admitted that by this time south India, particularly its western sector, had become more important than north India or the western Deccan in Indo-Roman commerce.[174]

The Kushāṇa empire from Transoxiana to Mathura still lingered on till it submitted itself to the Sasanids in the days of Vāsudeva II.[175] By c. A.D. 262 the western part of the empire up to Paskibouron or Pskbwr (i.e. Peshawar) in the east [176] (including the capital at Bactra or Balkh)[177] was annexed to the Sasanid empire under Shāpūr I (A. D. 241-272).[178] Some local tribes and chiefs raised their heads in the eastern sector after the mighty empire had already been dead by about or shortly after the middle of the 3rd century A.D.[179] So these tribes and chiefs themselves were in no way really responsible for the end of the empire. They at best danced over its corpse, and facilitated its burial or cremation.[180]

VII

Coin-legends and inscriptions furnish information about the Kushāṇa concept of kingship. The term *Turannountos*, meaning "during the rule of the absolute ruler", is noticeable on a group of coins of Miaos (or Heraos), the earliest known Kushāṇa chief. It indicates that he thought himself as " an absolute ruler, unlimited by law or constitution".[181] On the other hand, Kujula Kadphises adopted not-too-ambitious titles like *Yavuga* ("leader" of the Kuei-shuang or Kushāṇa group, branch, sept, or family of the Ta Yüeh-chih),[182] *Kara* (Military chief or lord or prince ?) [183] and *Dhramaṭhida* or *Sachadhramaṭhida* (Steadfast in Law or True Law = Buddhism or Saivism ?).[184] However, a more significant title, viz. *Devaputra*, "Son of God", appears in the legend of a class of coins struck by Kujula Kara Kapha, identifiable with Kujula Kadphises.[184a] Here we can find the first sign of the Kushāṇa idea of divine kingship. However, the idea could have already been known to the Yüeh-chih race, of whom the Kushāṇas formed a part.[184b]

The real imperial glamour was added and the concept of the divine origin of kingship gained ground during the rule of V'ima. He is shown as rising from clouds (like a supernatural being) or as enclosed within a frame (as if as an object of worship) on different classes of coins.[184c] His coin legends used not only the usual royal titles like *Basileus*, *Basileus Basileōn*, *Maharaja*, *Rajatiraja*, *Soter Megas*, and *Tradara*(or *Tratara*), but also such significant epithets as *Sarvaloga-iśvara* (Lord of the whole world) and *Maheśvara* (i.e.

Māheśvara).[185] His devotion to Maheśvara or Śiva is well indicated by the appearence of this deity on all the coins bearing the name of Ooēmo (V'ima). [186] In the Bactrian version of the Dasht-e-Nawur record Ooēmo is described not only as "Righteous" and "Just", but also a "God" (*Bago*) and "Worthy of Worship."[187] If the last part of line 5 and line 6 of the record concerned can be read correctly as *kidi pido i xobe Išane šaodane l[a]phado,* meaning "who owing to or because of the good Īśāna or Śiva obtained the kingship", [188] then here we can find a direct conceptual association of an adorable deity with the king . The idea of the connection of the royal domain with the personal god is further indicated by a Mat inscription, which seems to refer to the pitāmaha of Huvishka (identifiable with V'ima)[189] as one on whom "the kingdom was conferred, on account of Satyadharmasthita's (i.e.Kujula's) supplication, by Sarva and Śchaṁdavīra (= Chaṇḍavīra ?) or Sarva (i.e. Śiva), the fierce hero".[190] Thus V'ima made the divine association of Kushāṇa kingship a very much acceptable concept and brought imperial glamour to Kushāṇa kingship.

Though on the majority of the legends on the coins of Kanishka I and in the coin legends of his successors the king is called *Shaonano Shao*, [191] the Brāhmī and Kharoshṭī epigraphs refer to them as *Maharaja* (*Mahārāja*), *Rajatiraja* (*Rājādhirāja*) and also as *Devaputra* ("Son of God"), *Muroḍa* (*Muruṇḍa*=Lord), *Marjhaka* (*Gṛihapti*) (Kanishka I), *Mahata* ("Great"), *Jayata* ("Victorious"), *Dom(r)a'ata* ("Law of the Living World"), *Devamanuśa* (*Devamānusha*) ("God as Man") (Vāsishka), *Ka'isara* ("Caesar") (Kanishka II), etc.[192] In the Rabatak Bactrian inscription Kanishka I is mentioned as the "Great Saviour" (?), "Righteous", "Just", "Aautocrat" (*Xoazaoargo*), "Worthy of Worship", Bago (God), and also *Bagopooro* ("Son of God"), while in the Great Surkh Kotal inscription referring to the year 31, he is called "Victorious" and also *Bago* and *Bagopouro*.[193] More important is the assertion in the Rabatak inscription that Kanishka (I) "obtained the kingship from Nanā and from all the gods" (see Chapter II).

The special and favourable association of Nanā with king Huvishka is indicated by his copper coins showing him as kneeling before the standing deity in the gesture of receiving a boon.[194] An intaglio displays a Kushāṇa (Yüeh-chih) king receiving a diademed fillet from an enthroned deity identifiable as Manao Bago, who is also holding a winged Nike carrying a wreath or a fillet.[195]

The concept of receiving the kingdom through the grace of a god is an old one. The Achaemenid monarchs like Arsames, Darius the Great (521-486 B. C.) and Xerxes I (486-465 B.C) claimed to have received their kingships through the favour of Ahuramazda.[196]

In the Kushāṇa empire, however, the propagation of the concept of divine origin of kingship, the divine status of the kings, the divine favour for them and the show of the royal might facilitated the creation of the cult of the emperor. They were worshipped, as it is clearly proved by the Rabatak inscription referring to the installation of the image of even the living king (Kanishka I) in a sanctuary. The well-known dynastic sanctuaries were places of worshipping deities and also the dead and living monarchs. The Kushāṇas wanted to deify the realm, as suggested by different coin-types (displaying Shaoreoro, "Desirable Kingdom", Pharro, the personification of the Khvareno or the Iranian concept of the glory and legetimacy of the kings, etc.). These testimonies and the evidence of the subjects' devotion to the king and his domain indicate the creation of the cult of the empire and emperor. This sentiment for the empire and emperor, almost religious and patriotic, was encouraged as the common bond of union among the subjects belonging to diverse ethnic stocks, religious sects and territories.[197]

The Kushāṇa kingship was hereditary, at least in the early phases of the rule of the family of Kujula. This is clearly proved by the Rabatak inscription, Ara inscription, etc. The power of the king was unlimited.[198]

The heir apparent was sometimes associated with the administration as a co-ruler or "second" king with all regal titles. But he probably did not strike coins during the period of conjoint rule. At least such a hypothesis explains the absence of coins of Kanishka II, who ruled only as a co-ruler of Huvishka and never as a senior or supreme ruler.[199] There are indications in the Rabatak inscription itself that Kanishka I himself had been his father V'ima's co-ruler for some time (see above).

The empire was divided into satrapies, with a class of satraps (like Chashṭana and his son Jayadāman) enjoying a degree of autonomy (like the power to issue coins). There could have been also vassal states (in Oḍi or Udyāna or Swat and Pāṭaliputra area ?). Bactria, the most important area of the empire, was perhaps directly ruled by the emperors.[200]

The original territory of Kuei-shuang, in Ta-hsia, was between Badakhshan and Chitral and had its capital at Hu-tsao.[201] It appears from Chapter 118 of the *Hou Han-shu*, prepared mainly on the basis of a report of c. A.D. 125, that the capital was by that time transferred to Lan-shih, [202], which was also probably in the Badakhshan area [203] of Ta-hsia or eastern Bactria.[204] If Moses of Chorene was correct in indicating Bahl (or Balkh) as the place of residence of the Kushāṇa king in the period of early ascendency of the Sasanids,[205] then the capital of the Kushāṇa empire should have been transferred to Balkh (Bactra) in western Bactria before the closing decades of the Kushāṇa rule.[206] In fact, Bactra, the ancient metropolis, could have become the capital anytime after its conquest by Kujula Kadphises (see above).[207]

The importance of Bactria to the Imperial Kushāṇas is ovious from the employment of only the Bactrian language in the regular coin legends on official products like coins from sometime of the reign of Kanishka. Only the Bactrian language, written in the Greek script, was used for coins meant for circulation throughout the vast empire.

As we have argued elsewhere, the idea of having a large number of deities on the coins of Kanishka I and one of his successors, viz. Huvishka, might have been inspired by (a) the Kushāṇa moneyers' knowledge of the Roman coin-types and some cults of the Roman empire (gained through direct Kushāṇo-Roman commercial contacts), (b) the state policy to emphasise on deities indicating the right and might of the Kushāṇa rule, and (c) the desire to reflect the faiths and religious ideas-Hellenistic, Iranian and Indian - current in Bactria. It is significant that Jainism, a very important cult in Kushāṇa Mathura, is not represented on Kushāṇa coins.[208] In Kushāṇa imagery Bactria was an important geographical factor.

Some of the deities on the coins of the Kushāṇas are represented in sculptural art of their empire. For examples we can refer to the Buddha, Oesho, Herakles, Herakles-Serapis, Ardokhsho, Nanā, Orlagno, Mao, Mihira, Maasena (Mahāsena), Oado and others.[209] The Rabatak inscription adds to our knowledge in this regard.

The sanctuary, the establishment of which is recorded in the Rabatak inscription, was named after Nanā, the Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess who became identified in 1st century B.C.-A.D. with Ambā or Durgā, the consort of Śiva[210] (referred to in Kushāṇa coin-legends as Oesho<*Vesha* <*Vṛisha*, a name based on that of the god's mount, but applicable also to his theriomorphic and also anthropomorphic forms).[211] Ommo<Omma can be identified with the above noted Ambā (*Amma >Ommo)*.[212] Śrī, the Indian goddess of fortune, was conceptually and iconographically connected with Demeter, Tyche and Ardokhsho and she received from them the fillet and cornucopia. A female deity wearing a Hellenic dress and accompanied by a cornucopia is identified by a Kharoshṭī inscription as the "image of Śrī" (*Śiriye paḏima*).[213] So Śrī was well-known and popular in the Indo-Iranian borderlands during the Kushāṇa age.

Pharo personifies the Khvareno, the Iranian concept of glory and legitimacy of kings.[214] He is shown on Kushāṇa coins with a halo behind his head or with flaming shouldders (to indicate the royal glory ?).[215]

Ahura Mazda (Ahuramazda or Auramazda) "the Wise, the Lord", was the supreme god and the creator of the world, in ancient Iranian ideas and in reformed Zoroastrian belief.[216] "In Achaemenian art he was given emblamatic guise, as a profile bust set into a quasi-Egyptian winged solar disk"[217] However, on Kushāṇa coins he is shown as an old man holding a pole and a wreath.[218] Here perhaps we see the first regular anthropomorphic representation of the great god.

Mozdooano, whose name appears after that of Ahura Mazda in the Rabatak list of deities, is shown on Kushāṇa coins as a bearded and diademed male figure wearing the Yüeh-chih or Kushāṇa dress and riding on a two-headed horse.[218a] The iconic features, indicating a Kushāṇa figure riding on a supernatural horse (apparently of great magical strength) and the name meaning literally "the Great Conquerer or the Triumphant (One)"(<Mazda Vanana), may allude to the personification of the militant Kushāṇa royalty. Mazdooano need not be identified with Ahura Mazda, nor the name need be taken as the latter's epithet (as thought by some scholars).[218b]

Srośardo or Srosharda, "Srosha, the brave" (*arda* < *arta* ?) of the Iranian pantheon, "was a mighty speared lordly god" having Parodars, "who raises voice against mighty dawn" (i.e. cock) as his representation (or emblem ?). [219] He was considered as "the protector of the living world". [220] The Rabatak inscription identifies Srosha with Maasena (Mahāsena), Bizago (Viśākha) and Komāro (Kumara). Peacock or cock can be noticed on the staff held by Mahāsena or by Skanda-Kumāra on several Kushāṇa coins.[221] The concepts of these deities merged with one another and formed the concept and iconography of Kārttikeya carrying a spear and associated with cock or peacock.[222] The Rabatak inscription indicates Indo-Iranian contacts in this regard.[223]

Narasao, Avestan Nairyo-Sangha, was considered as one " who dwells in the naval of kings".[224] So this deity was at the core of the royalty. It is interesting to note that Narseh was the personal name of a Sasanian king (A. D. 293-303).

The Rabatak inscription indicates an eclectic attitude of the Kushāṇas to religion, a fact already known from other data.[225] It also enriches our knowledge of the imagery of the Kushāṇa age.

NOTES

1. B.N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Silver Coinage*, Calcutta, 1982 (hereafter *KSC*), pp. 18-20.

2. *Shih-chi*, Ssu-pu pei-yao edition, ch. 123, p. 3b; *Ch'ien Han-shu*,T'ung-wen shu-chü edition, ch. 96A, p. 14b.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *KSC*, p. 20.

5. B.N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source-A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta, 1970 (hereafter *ASSIPH*), pp. 111-113.

6. *KSC*, p. 21f.

7. *Hou Han-shu*, Ssu-pu pei-yao edition, ch. 118, p. 9a. For the identification of Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh or Qui-Jui-que and Yen-kao-chen or Yen-gao-zhen respectively with Kujula Kadphises and V'ima Kadphises, see the *Journal Asiatique*, 1914, s. XI, vol. IV, p. 401, fn.1; *T'oung Pao*, 1929, vol. XXVI, pp. 201-202; KG, p. 93, n. 24. In this connection see also B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, Stockholm, 1957 and E.G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin*, Vancouver, 1991. According E.G. Pulleyblank, the first name was pronounced in Chinese as *K(h)uw-dzuw-k(h)iak* and the second as *Jiam-kaw-trin*. According to Karlgren, the second name was pronounced as *Iäm-kâu-'t'yen.*

7a. See n.7.

8. *RFKE*, pp. 351.

9. Strabo, *Geographikon*, p. 76.

10 H. L. Jones and J.B.S. Sterrett, *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. I, p. XXV. Certain portions of Strabo's treatise might have been revised in a year even as late as c. A.D. 18.

11. Isidore of Charax, *Stathmoi Parthikoi*, sec. 19.

12. *ASSIPH,* pp. 210-212.

13. A. Herrman, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Taipei, p. 101, no. 2005; B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1923, no.956.

14. *Ch'ien Han-shu*, ch. 96A. p. 10b; *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 118, p. 9a; *ASSIPH*, pp. 192-93, n. 25.

14a. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1981, p. 154.

15. *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1955, vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 9; *ASSIPH*, pp. 160-70; etc.

16. According to the *Ta Es Ton Tyanea Apollonion* by Philostratus, a king called Pharotes was ruling in a part of north-western India including Taxila during the time of his visit in the fifth decade of the 1st century A.D. (II, 8, 10, 17, 19, 20 and 32; *ASSIPH*, pp. 149 and 187).

17. We have shown elsewhere on the basis of the evidence of Philostratus and certain other data that Phraotes was ruling in Taxila in or after June or July, A.D. 46 (*ASSIPH*, p. 154, n. 264 and pp. 186-187). Even if one does not believe in the statement of Philostratus, there is no doubt the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares (I), who struck coins at Taxila, had ruled up to the year 103 of the Azes Era or A.D. 45-46. The date is supplied by the so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription referring to his rule, though not strictly at Taxila (*CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 62; *ASSIPH*, p. 185; *RFKE*, p. 36).For an account of Kujula's rule see *RFKE*, pp. 24f.

18. *NBIK*, pp. 80 and 97.

19. *Ibid.*, pp.97-100 and fig. 11,f.

20. Ibid., p. 97 and p. 140, fig. 13, a; *Numismatic Chronicle,* 1982, p. 67, pl. IV, nos. 9-10.

21. *NBIK,* p. 140, fig. 13, b-c; p. 141, fig. 14, a-c.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 141, fig. 14, a.

23. Ptolemy, *Geograpke Huphegesis*, VI, 12, 14.

24. *Asia Major*, ns, 1963, vol. IX, p. 109; *BSOAS*, vol. XV, PP. 533-36.

24a. The conjunct letter *kshu* of *Takshuma* is written horizontally and not vertically, perhaps due to want of space. Here the usual form of this conjunct letter has not been used, perhaps due to ignorance on the part of the relevant die-cutter. For a similar type of mistake (in writing *ti*) see *BEFEO,* vol. LXXIII, 1984, pl. VI, l. 8. It may also be pointed out that a part of a monogram (letter *ya* ?) intrudes into the space between *ti* and *ya* of *Ya'etiya.*

25. *NBIK*, p. 98; p. 140, fig. 15,f.

26. *Iranica Antiqua*, vol. I, 1961, p. 103, row 9, no. 12.

26a. The reverse inscription can be read as.... *Ooama Tok....* (= *Voama Tokshomo*, i. e. V'ima Takshuma). In that case the royal name occurs along with the epithet.

27. H. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (edited by K.L. Janert), Göttingen, 1961, p. 135; *KG*, pp. 57 and 95.

28. H. Lüders, *op. cit.*, p. 138-139; *KG*, pp. 60-61.

29. *NBIK*, p. 120.

30. *BEFEO*, vol. LXI, 1974, p. 18 and 2; pls. XIV and XXIII.

31. *Ibid.*

32. For the meaning of the epithet *Kadaphisa* (>*Kadphises*), see *BSOAS*, vol. XIII, p. 396; *KG*, pp. 46-47 and 94-95, n. 29.

33. For a feasible meaning of the title *Takshuma*, see the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1977, pp. 80-81.

34. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XV, no.2 and p. 79; *East and West*, vol. IX, p. 294, fig. 8. The so-called second vertical stroke after *saṁ* and before the symbol for 100 is really a part of a crude human figure engraved on the stone bearing the inscription. There are several such figures displayed on the stone.

35. See above n. 30.

36. *CSADOSE*, pp. 32, 56f and 98.

37. See above n. 30 and *ibid.*, p. 41.

38. Gondophares I (20/21 - 45/46) and Kujula could have for some time ruled simultaneously in different areas of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent. So there is absolutely no reason to agree with Cribb's attempt to date the rule of Kujula after that of Gondophares I (*NBIK*, p. 104).

    The *Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses* indicates that the "warlike nation of the Bactrians, under their own king" (meaning probably the Kushāṇas) was in occupation of certain areas to the north of the territory of the people of Proclais (Pushkalāvatī or the Charsada area of the Peshawar district) when Parthian princes were "driving each other out" in Scythia (i. e. the lower Indus country) (secs. 38 and 47).

39. *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 118, p. 9a.

40. B.N. Mukherjee, *Foreign Names of the Indian Subcontinent*, Mysore, 1989, pp. 74-85.

41. *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 118, pp. 9a-b.

42. *T'oung Pao*, 1915, sII, vol. XVI, p. 690; B.N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in Kushāṇa History*, Calcutta, 1970 (hereafter *EFKH*), pp. 11f.

43. *ASSIPH*, p. 241; pl.III, no. 18. However, see also *PHAI* (8), p. 713, n. 68. A rock inscription in the Hunza area probably refers to V'ima (*Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1987, 19).

44. H. Lüders, *op.cit.*, p. 135.

45. *Vestnik Drevney Istorii,* 1992, pp. 87f., *Sampupa : Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology, U.P.*, no. 47-48, 1991, p. 10.

46. *Sampupa : Bulletin of the Museums and Archaeology, U. P.,* no. 47-48, 1991, pp. 10-12.

47. *PHAI* (8), p. 709.

48. *Numismatic Chronicle,* vol. 144, 1984, pp. 128f, especially p. 152; vol. 145, 1985, pp. 136f.

49. *NBIK*,p. 103; *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 144, 1984, p. 151.

50. *NBIK,* p. 103; See also above n. 48.

51. J. Cribb, "A New Coin of Vima Kadphises, King of the Kushans", *Coins, Culture and History in the Ancient World* (edited by M. J. Price and L. Casson), Detroit, 1981, p. 34; *NBIK*, pp. 117f.

52. For reproductions of these coins, see p. 30 of Cribb's article mentioned in n. 51.

53. *NBIK,* pp. 140-141, fig. 13, a-c, fig. 14, a-c.

54. D.W. MacDowall has observed that "it looks as though a native coinage was initiated in Khotan, copying the denominations and standard of Kushan copper coinage, which had reached the area in quantity before the Kushans had lost effective control and which was still current in circulation " (A.L. Basham, editor, *Papers on the Date of Kanishka,* Leiden, 1968, pp. 146-147). No doubt the average weight of the two varieties of the Sino-Kharoshṭī coins of Khotan (larger ones weighing c. 213·44 grains and the smaller ones weighing c. 47·857 grains) are nearly the same as the average weight of the copper "tetradrachms" (weighing c. 15 gm.) and "drachms" (weighing c. 3.5 to 4 gm.) of Kanishka I. However, it should be remembered that the weight of the Khotanese coins in question is explicitly stated in Chinese legends, as was the custom for the Chinese currency for centuries during the Han period (R. A. C. Carson, *Coins*, London, 1962, p. 540). According to these legends, the larger pieces had the "weight of (one) liang (and) four tchu (or zhu) of copper money" or about 227.36 grains and the smaller one had the weight "six tchu (or Zhu) (of) money" or approximately 48.72 grains *(Journal of the Asiatic Society of* Bengal, 1899, extra number 1, pp. 9-10). The actual specimens examined by A. R. F. Hoernle roughly agreed with their theoretical weight *(ibid*, p. 11). It should also be remembered that legends like *wu-tchu*, i. e. "five tchus (or zhus)", etc., appear on pure Chinese coins of the Han period found in the Khotan area, where most of the Sino-Kharoshṭī coins have been discovered (T. de Lacouperie, *Catalogue of Chinese Coins in the British*

Museum, pp. 361 and 369; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1899, extra number 1, p. 18). Here the weight standard or standards followed by the specie in question seems or seem to have been based on multiplication of the weight of a tchu or zhu (about 8. 12 grains) (T. de Lacouperie, *op. cit,* pp. XLII-XLIV). A liang consisted of 24 zhus (Carson, *op. cit.* p. 540). Thus the weight standard of the Kushāṇa coins might not have any concern with the Sino-Kharoshṭī pieces of Khotan. On the other hand, the style of portraying the horses on the larger pieces of Sino-Kharosṭī coins can be favourably compared with that of the same animal on several copper coins of the Indo-Parthian king Azilises and on those struck by him jointly with Azes II (*Numismatic Chronicle,* 1890, pl. XI, no. 10; R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjub Museum. Lahore*, vol. I, Oxford, 1914, p. 254; p. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI, no. 5). The arrangement of the royal titles (*Maharaja rajatiraja Mahata,* as read by Hoernle, and *Maharaja rajati (raja)* as read by Cribb) in several inscriptions in the Kharoshṭī script and the Prakrit language, appearing on these coins, are identical with that of the titles noticeable on a large number of Indo-Parthian or Scytho-Parthian coins, especially those of Azes I, Azilises and Azes II (R.B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 104f).

So the Sino-Kharoshṭī coins, the origin of which seem to have been influenced by Chinese and also by Indo-Parthian coinages, should have begun to be struck before the all pervading influence of the reformed Kushāṇa coinage swept away all vestiges of Scytho-Parthian or Indo-Parthian currency system. (In this connection see also *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* vol. XXXV, pp. 101f). On the question of the political connection of the Kushāṇa empire with Shan-shan near Khotan, see B.N. Mukherjee, *India in Early Central Asia,* New Delhi, 1996, pp. 90f.

55. B.N. Mukherjee, *India in Early Central Asia,* pp. 91-92 and 95, n. 9.

56. *RFKE,* pp. 49f.

57. *NBIK*, pp. 114-118. Cribb, however, attributes these coins to the so-called Vima I Taktu.

58. For full discussions on the Soter Megas series of coins see *KG*, pp. 52-55; *RFKE,* pp. 49f; etc.

59. W. Wroth, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, London, 1905, pp. 178f. Royal names occur only on a small number of exceptional coins (*ibid.*, pp. 162, 165, etc.).

60. R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. XVI, no. 96. J. Marshall tried to read the relevant part of the legend as *vama(na ?)* (*Taxila*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1951, p. 69). We correctly read it as *Vamasa* in 1967 (*KG*, p. 59). Cribb has practically followed this

reading, without, however, referring either to Marshall or to the present author (*NBIK*, p. 112).

61. *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* , 1960, vol. XXII, pp. 63f.

62. *Journal of the Asiatic Society,* 1983, pp. 106-107.

63. *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* vol. XXII, 1960, pp. 109f and 305f; *NL,* pp. 65f.

64. For a detailed discussion on the reign of V'ima, see *RFKE,* pp. 43f. J. Harmatta has recently suggested that the "unknown language" used in one of the three recensions of the Dasht-e-Nawur record is a Saka dialect and has remarked that "if we substitute the syllabic value of the Kharoshṭī alphabet", the resulting text (of the version concerned) has a Saka character. He thinks that the version refers to exploits of V'ima (J. Harmatta, editor, *History of Civilizations of Central Asia,* vol. II, Paris, 1994, pp. 418-420). The script concerned, however, includes Aramaic (or Sogdian or Parthian), Greek as well as Kharoshṭī letters. So the language in question still remains unknown. It was probably written in a "mixed script" (B.N. Mukherjee, *India in Early Central Asia,* pp. 74-75).

The Bactrian version of the Dasht-e-Nawur record is much weather beaten. The first six lines refer to the year 279 and different epithets of Ooēmo Taksho (mo). (i. e. V'ima Kadphises). The last part of line 5 and line 6 speak of V'ima as one "who owing to the good Īśana (Śiva) obtained the kingship" [*Kidi pido xobe Išane šaodane l[a]phad(o)*]. The reading of the rest of the record is very uncertain. The full reading of the text as suggested by Harmatta is not acceptable and his interpretation that it records *inter alia* a reference to V'ima's victory over "Sainis" (J. Harmatta, *op. cit.,* p. 423) is at best a very much conjectual hypothesis.

The same observation may be made about Harmatta's reconstruction of the Bactrian inscription discovered in the sanctuary displaying a mural painting representing Śiva and Umā in the fortress of Dilberjin, situated about 40 kms to north-west of Balkh. As admitted by Harmatta himself, not a single complete word is preserved here. So we cannot be sure about the name Ooēmo or V'ima appearing here. We may only guess that the content of the inscription might have been connected with the sanctuary, since the expression *bago-* ("god") perhaps occurs in line 7 (or line 5 according to another reading) of the inscription located in a sanctuary of the Kushāṇa age (I. T. Kruglikova, *Dilberdzhin,* pt. I, Moscow, 1914, pp. 3 and 68-71, figs.45, 47b and pl. 4; V. A. Livshits and I.T. Kruglikova, *Fragmenty Baktriskoy monumental'-noy nadpisi iz Dil'berdzina,* Moscow, 1979, p. 100; *B.W.*, pp. 130-131; J. Harmatta, *op. cit.*, pp. 424-25). However,the inscription appears above and below the representations of three aristocratic figures wearing headgears, one of whom is enthroned. So the inscription may have some concern also with an important personage. It is notewortyy that there are clouds behind the heads of these figures as can be noticed on coins of V'ima. So the enthroned person may be identified with him.

Another Bactrian inscription from Dilberjin, which is also fragmentary, may perhaps identify the person concerned as V'ima. If Harmatta has correctly read *šao Oo...o* in l. 22 (or l. 12, according to Davary's counting), the name can be restored as *šao Ooēmo,* i. e. king V'ima. However, since in this inscription not a single complete sentence is now legible, no connected account of the content is possible. However, the name *Oešo* read by Harmatta in l. 3 indicates that the record had some connection with the above noted santuary of Oesho (displaying Oesho and Umā). The readable expressions like *sado*, "well" (l. 9 of Harmatta's reading), and *eimoano abo,*"these [flows of] water" (l. 19 of Harmatta and l. 9 of Davary), etc., suggest that the record deals with water-supply to a sanctuary.

It should, however, be noted here that V. A. Livshits, I. T. Kruglikova and G. D. Davary have not read *Oo(ēm)o* after the royal title *šao* and have not recognised the name *Oešo* in this inscription. Nevertheless, the record concerned, found in the vicinity of the Oesho sanctury of the Kushāṇa age, could have been related to it and the king in question might have been V'ima, the great devote of that deity (V. A. Livshits and I. T. Kruglikova, *op. cit.,* p. 101; *BW,* pp. 131-133; Harmatta, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-427).

65. See *KG,* pp. 65, 68-69 and 74; *RFKE,* pp. 64f, 92-93 and 155. We have read the date of the Kamra inscription of Vāsishka as the year 20. Different readings have been suggested by A. H. Dani (year 26 or 28) (S. N. Mukherjee, (editor), *India : History and Thought, Essays in Honour of A.L. Basham,* Calcutta, 1982, p. 11), K. W. Dobbins (year 160) (*East and West,* n.s. vol. 25, 1975, pp. 105-109), G. Fussman, (year uncertain) (*BEFEO,* vol. LXVII, pp. 53-54) and H. W. Bailey (year 30) (*Afghan Studies,* vols. III-IV, 1982, p. 79). While Dobbin's reading cannot be taken seriously, of the other readings the one suggested by us has one favourable point. The inscription refers to the birth of Kanishka in the year recorded in the inscription. He must be identified with king Kanishka (II), son of Vajheshka (=Vāsishka), of the Ara inscription of the year 41. If he had been born in the year 20, he would have adult enough to be Huvishka's co-ruler in the year 41. But this would not have been the case if he had been born in the year 28 or 30. The reading *viṁshati* for *viṁśati*, no doubt, poses a linguistic problem, since Sanskrit sibilants *(ś, sh and s)* are preserved in N. W. Prakrit, used in writing the Kamra record. But we may note that there are a few examples of replacement of one sibilant by another in Kharoshṭī records of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent (see *CII,* vol. II, pl. I, p. 65 for the use of *śa* for *sa*

and p. 172 for that *sha* for *śa*).

Some scholars believe that a number of images of the Mathura school inscribed with dates varying from year 5 to 57 and including the icons of the time of Vāsishka, bear stylistic traits which are more mature than those of the sculptures of the later phase of the first century of the Kanishka Era. So these images should be dated to the post-1st century of that era. J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw suggested that the figure of hundred had been omitted before the dates in the inscriptions on the images in question (J. E. Van Lohuizen - de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, Leiden, 1949, pp. 232f). J. M. Rosenfield has attributed the sculptures concerned to a second Kushāṇa reckoning started soon after the year 98 of the Kanishka Era (*DAK*, p. 270-73 and 295, n. 22; see also the article of J. G. Williams in the *Mathurā, The Cultural Heritage*, edited by D. Meth Srinivasan, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 325f).If this hypothesis is accepted, the images of the time of Vāsishka should be attributed to a second Vāsishka or rather Vāsishka of all inscriptions should be dated after the first century of the Kanishka Era.

We have already demonstrated that the stylistic features of the images concerned need not ensure their dating after the 1st century of the Kanishka era (*Central Asia in the Kushan Period*, vol. II, Moscow, 1975, pp. 346f). M. S. Gai has objected to the hypothesis in question on palaeographic consideration of the inscriptions on the images concerned (*Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, edited by U. P. Shah and M. S. Dhaky, Ahmedabad, 1975, pp. 81-85). Finally, the discovery of a Mathura image inscription of the year 170 (or 140 ?) and of the reign of Vāsudeva II has laid at rest the speculations about the practice of omitting the figure of hundred or about the use of a new Kushāṇa Era. So all epigraphic records bearing the name of Vāsishka (or its variant) are to be attributed to the period from the year 20 to 28 of the Kanishka Era.

66. *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1987, vol. XXII, pp. 28-29; figs. 1-2.

67. *EI,* vol. II, p. 201, no. XX and pl. ; S. Gokhale, *Indian Numerals,* Poona, 1966, p. 16.

68. H. Lüders, *op. cit.* secs,. 14 and 137.

69. *RFKE,* pp. 180f.

70. *Ibid.* , pp. 180f and 230-31.

71. When the draft of the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of the Sasanid emperor Shāpūr I was prepared in c. A. D. 262 (BSOAS, vol. IX, 1937-39, p. 854), the whole of the

Kushāṇa country (from its western and north-western borders and) up to Peshawar was under his control (*Syria,* 1958, p. 336). The capital of the empire, situated in the Balkh area, was within the annexed territory. So the rule of Vāsudeva, the last Kushāṇa emperor, from this capital must have ended by or before that year. An earlier end of his rule is suggested by the *San- kuo chih* by Ch'en Shou, as quoted in the *Wei-chih,* (ch. 3, p. 6a). According to it, the Great Yüeh-chih king Po-t'iao was ruling on the day called kue-mao of the third year of the t'ai-ho period, corresponding to 26th January of A. D. 230 [A.L.Basham (editor), *op.cit.*, p. 371]. The transliteration of the name written as *Po-t'ia*, pronounced in Ancient Chinese as *Puâ-d'ieu*, indicates the original name as *Vāsudeva (ibid.*, p. 389, no. bh; *RFKE*, p. 230). The Yüeh-chih (Kushāṇa) king Vāsudeva ruling in A. D. 230 and so not very long before the end of the Kushāṇa empire by c. A.D. 262, could not have been Vāsudeva I, who began to reign within fifty years of the end of the period of Kanishka I, and should be identified as Vāsudeva II. If Vāsudeva II had already been on the throne in A. D. 230, he was not expected to rule beyond A. D. 262. In fact, the known average period of reign in ancient India may put his last regnal year much earlier than A. D. 262.

72. *RFKE,* pp. 180f and 230f ; see also above n. 71.

73. See above n. 71.

74. E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins,* Strassburg, 1907, p. 22; *RFKE*, pp. 76-78.

75. E. J. Rapson, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Khatrapas the Traikūṭakas and the Bodhi Dynasty,* London, 1908, pp. 72-73.

76. J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 97, 102, etc.

77. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44.

78. R. C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity,* Bombay, 1951, p. 183.

79. *RFKE,* p. 110, n. 84.

80. *Journal of Ancient Indian History,* vol. II, 1968-69, p. 102.; *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XLVIII, 1970, p. 253; B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan,* pt. I, *Kanishka I and the Deccan* (hereafter *KD*), Calcutta, 1968, p. 102. An inscription has been wrongly attributed to the year 6 and to the rule of Chashṭana (*Journal of the Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XXVIII, 1978, p. 36).

81. *KG,* pp. 68f.

82. *Ibid.*, see also above n. 80.

A subordinate ruler might have used a well-established era in his area and not his muster's reckoning, at least for the sake of convenience. Thus the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman, acknowledging the supremacy of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, was dated in the so-called Mālava Era and not in the Gupta Era. But there was no well-used era in Kachchha when Chashṭana's Andhau inscription of the year 11 was issued.

Since Nahapāna's known years (41-46) can never be referred to the era of A. D. 78, used by Chashṭana, the former cannot be considered as the latter's overlord (*KD*, p. 104).

83. See above n. 22.

84. *CII,* vol. II, pt. I, p. 141.

85. For an example see the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol. XIV, 1987, p. 36.

86. *Indian Museum Bulletin,* 1985, vol. XX, pp. 13-14. The name "Śaka" was tagged to the era in the *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja, while referring to its year 191 (ch. 79, vv. 14, 61 and 72). An inscription from Wala is claimed to be dated in "Śaka year 322 current of the Śaka-kings" (K. V. Ramesh, *Indian Epigraphy* vol. I, Delhi, 1984, p. 80). (But see also the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* 1950-51, no. B-36, p. 13). The Hisse-Borala inscription refers to the year 380 of the Śakas.

87. *NBIK*, p. 106.

88. *EI,* XXIV, pp. 210-212; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology,* vol. XVI, p. XXXIX; G. R. Sharma, *Kushāṇa Studies,* Allahabad, 1968, pl. XIX, A and B and p. 44. One of the two pedestal inscriptions, noticed by Sharma, definitely mentions Kanishka and is dated probably in the year 6. The other record, which is clearly dated in the year 6, probably refers to the same king in a partly mutilated section.

89. G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kosam, 1949-50,* Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 74, Delhi, 1969, p. 10.

90. *EI,* vol. VIII, pp. 176 and 179.

91. F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan,* pt. I, p. 119 and f. n. 2.

92. *Hou Han-shu,* ch. 118, p. 10.

93. *New Indian Antiquary,* 1944, vol. VII, p. 90.

94. *EI,* vol. IX, p. 181.

95. *PHAI(8),* pp. 88-89.

96. J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India,* London, 1936, p. XXXVII; B. N.

Mukherjee, *The Disintegration of the Kushāṇa Empire*, Varanasi, 1976 (hereafter *DKE*), p. 22 and 44, n. 61.

97. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. I, *From the Sixth Century B. C. to the Sixth Century A. D.* , 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 96-97. Dhanadeva is described in the inscription as "the sixth in descent from Pushyamitra" (the Śuṅga ruler).

98. J. Takakasu and K. Watanabe (editors), *Taisho Issaikyo* (cited below as *Taisho Tripiṭaka*), no. 2058, p. 315.

99. *KD*, pp. 24f.

100. K. V. Vassilief, *Le Bouddhisme ses Dogmes, son Histoire et sa Littérature* (translated by M. G. A. La Comme), pp. 210-211.

101. This inference is supported also by a literary text. The *Ta chuang-yen lun ching*, the Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, done by Kumārajīva, states that "among the Chü-sha (Kushāṇa) race there was a king named Chen-t'an Chia-ni-cha (*Kanishka I*) who (*once*) made a punitive campign against Tung T'ien-chu (*Eastern India*). When (*that territory*) had been pacified his majestic power made (*the world*) tremble and his success was complete, and he returned to his native country" (Italics ours) (*Taisho Tripiṭaka*, no. 201, ch. IV, p. 287).

102. For evidence in this regard see *DKE*, pp. 30-31. See also the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VI, pp. 6-26.

103. *PHAI*(8), p. 96.

104. *Liang-shu*, ch. 54; S. Lévi, "Deux peouples méconnus", *Melanges Charles de Harlez*, pp. 176-178; *DKE*, pp. 31f; *RFKE*, pp. 230f.

105. See above n. 104; *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 143 and 145.

106. *DKE*, pp. 32-33.

107. *PHAI(8)*, pp. 129-30.

108. H. Hamid, R. C. Kak and R. P. Chanda, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi*, pp. 29-30, no. A. 82; *KG*, p. 74.

109. H. Hamid *et.al*, *op.cit.*, p. 30; *EL*, vol. IX, pp. 244-45.

110. *El*, vol. II, p. 99; Mala Datta, *A Study in the Sātavāhana Coinage*, Delhi, 1990, pp. 263-265, 273, 275, etc.; *Nidhi*, vol. I, 1990, pp. 5f; *PHAI(8)*, p. 685.

111. As noted above, the *Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses* indicates that the "warlike nation of the Bactrians (meaning probably the Kushāṇas), under their own king", was

in occupation of certain areas to the north of the territory of the people of Proclais (Pushkalāvatī or the Charsada area of the Peshawar district) at a time when information about them was gathered at Barygaza (Broach), which was under Manbanos (Nahapāna), and when the Parthian princes were "driving each other out" in Scythia (i.e. the lower Indus country) (secs 38, 41 and 47). Such a situation was applicable at least to Sind during the last years of the rule of Gondophares I or immediately after him, i.e. to c. A. D. 46 or shortly after that year. So Nahapāna, who was then controlling Ariake, including Syrastrene (i.e. Kathiawadh peninsula and some adjoining areas) and Aberia bordering on Skythia (and so a part of Rajasthan), must have begun to rule by about the middle of the first century A. D. Up to that time (or at least up to c. A. D. 46) the Kushāṇas in the subcontinent were restricted to the upper section of its north-western part. On the other hand, since Nahapāna ruled for at least 46 years, if not more, he could well have been a senior contemporary of Kanishka I (see also *KD*, pp. 101f; *PHAI(8)*, pp. 687f and 242-243).

112. *Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses,* sec. 41. This text refers to Ozēnē as a city which was "formerly a royal capital". But this statement never proves that it was an earlier capital of Nahapāna's domain.

113. *T'oung Pao,* 1912, s. II, vol. XIII, p. 378, f. n. 4; *KD,* pp. 63f and 79, ns. 2-3.

114. *Ibid.*, *RFKE*, pp. 78f.

115. *Ibid., EFKH*; pp. 21f.

116. Ptolemy, *Geographike Huphegesis*, VII, 1, 65. Kōsa was in the country of the Prapiōtai living near the Ouindion (i.e. the Vindhya) range and along the bank of the Namadēs (Narmadā).

117. See above n. 116.

118. *EI,* vol. VIII, p. 44.

119. E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, 2nd edition, reprint, Delhi, 1974, p. 110; See also p. 236. The *Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses* refers to export of diamond from Dimurike or Draviḍa country (sec. 56). According to Mallinus, diamond was more precious than gold. For the use of diamond, see also Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXVII, 56-61.

120. Tāranātha, *Ṛgya-gar-chos-ḥbyuṅ*, ch. 18; A Chattopadhyaya and Lama Chimpa, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, Simla, 1970, p. 131.

121. *Hou Han-chi,* ch. 13. See below n. 128.

122. *RFKE,* pp. 744f.

123. *Taisho Tripiṭaka,* no. 2058, p. 316.

124. N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, Chicago, 1938, pp. 174, 213 and 270.

125. *Ibid.* , pp. 214, 215 and 270.

126. *Taisho Tripiṭaka,* no. 2053, II, p. 229; *A. L. Basham* (editor), *op.cit.,* pp.383 and 390, no. co; *RFKE,* pp. 119-122.

127. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* vol. I, 1904, p. 125; Hui-li, *The Life Hsuang-tsang* (translated by Li Yung-hsi), Beijing, 1959, p. 55.; E. Zürcher, "The Yüeh-Chih and Kanishka in the Chinese Sources", A. L. Basham (editor), *op. cit.,* p. 383. Other states of Chinese Turkestan with which the Kushāṇas might have special relations about this time was Kucha and Khotan. As we have noted above, a Tibetan text refers to the participation of a ruler of the Li country or Khotan and the king of Guzan or the Guchen area in an expedition of Kanishka I against So-ked. A section of the *Hou Han-shu* (ch. 77, pp. 4a 5a; *T'oung Pao*, 1906, s. II, vol. VII, p. 226) indicates an alliance or some kind of special relationship between the Kushāṇas and Ch'iu-tzu (*Kutsi) or Kucha in c. A.D. 78 (*RFKE*, pp. 119-122).

128. *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 77, p. 7. In chapter 13 of the *Hou Han-chi* Hsieh is mentioned as a "king". So he was "the king" and also "the second king". These descriptions fit in well with the Kushāṇa concept of co-rulership of the independent senior sovereign and the heir apparent with the status of a king (E. Enoki, "Hsieh, Viceroy of the Yüeh-chih", *Central Asia in the Kushan Period*, vol. I, Moscow, 1974, p. 265; *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1973, vol. VIII, p. 115).

129. The Character *Hsieh* is considered to have been pronounced as *dzyāg* in Archaic Chinese and as *zya* in Ancient Chinese. If the first pronunciation is valid in our case, a part or the whole of the original name might have been *shk* or *shka* or *ishka*. This might well have been a part of the name *Vāsishka*, since the event concerned took place in A. D. 90. So Vāsishka might have become a co-ruler of Kanishka I by A. D. 90. (See the *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1973, vol. VII, pp. 115-117 for relevant discussion and references).

130. Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 168; *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1987, vol. XXII, p. 19.

131. For an account of the reign of Kanishka I, see *RFKE*, pp. 71f.

132. For the date of Vāsishka in question, see above n. 65. There are some gold coins bearing the name *Bazeshko*. But Bazeshko (= Vāsishka) will have to be placed after Kanishka III. The numismatic evidence is very clear on this point. Moreover, there is no necessity to think that Bazeshko belonged to the house of Kujula and Kanishka.

Bazeshko/Vāsishka might have ruled in one of the fragments of the eastern part of the territory of the erstwhile Kushāṇa empire after its western part had been annexed to the Sasanian empire (*RFKE*, pp. 189-194).

133. *RFKE*, pp. 93f.

134. *Ibid.*, pp. 155f.

135. *Ibid.*, pp. 176f.

136. *Ibid.*, pp. 180f.

137. See above ns. 133-136; see also *ibid.*, pp. 230f.

138. See above ns. 133-137.

139. *Syria*, 1958, p. 336; *BSOAS,* 1947-48, vol. XII, p. 54; *RFKE*, p. 143.

140. See A. L.Basham (editor), *op. cit.*, pp. 273-277; *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1987, vol. XXII, pp. 28-29; figs. 1-2.

141. *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 118; *T'oung Pao*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, pp. 177 and 187; *RFKE*, p. 130, n. 170.

142. *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 118, p. 13b; *RFKE*, pp. 95-96.

143. An inscription on a image found at Ramnagar (ancient Ahichchhatrā) in the Bareilly district is dated in the year 32 of the Kanishka Era. It obviously belongs to the reign of Huvishka (Satya Shrava, *The Dated Kushāṇa Inscriptions*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 66).

144. G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kosam, 1949-50*, p. 10.

145. *DKE*, p. 12.

146. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-58.

147. *EFKH*, pp. 11f, and 22f.

148. The Gaṅgā or Vaṅga country (lower West Bengal and coastal Bangladesh up to the mouth of the Padma) was gaining importance in the trade with south India and south-east Asia from about the second half of the 1st century A. D. It had also contacts with the north-western part of the subcontinent, then very much within the Kushāṇa empire. Families from the north-west, interested in commerce, came and settled here. (*Indian Museum Bulletin*, vol. XXV, pp. 65-67; 30-34; etc. ; *Pratnasamikshā*, no. 2-3, pp. 164-168). Yet the Kushāṇas are still not known to have ever captured that area. Perhaps the conquest of the Gaṅgā or Vaṅga country was on the planned programme of Kanishka's progress through the east. Such an assumption explains his conquest of the Champā area lying on the route to Vaṅga. Even if he had conquered

it some time after his first regnal year, information on that point is still lacking.

149. See above n. 146.

150. *EI*, vol. IX, pp. 244-45.

151. The *Suttanipāta* (1011-1013) refers to a route connecting *inter alia* Vedisa (i. e. Vidiśā in Ākara region) with Kosambi (Kauśāmbī)

152. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60.

153. *KD*, pp. 101-102; *PHAI(8)*, p. 742-743.

154. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 71.

155. *PHAI(8)*, p. 743.

156. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 73.

157. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

158. *Ibid.*

159. See above n. 153.

160. Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, I, 17, 4.

161. *Ibid.*, VII, 1, 4-5 and 62-63. Ptolemy refers to the domain of Tiastenēs as Larike (*Lāḍha* < *Lāṭa+ike*), denoting geographically the area of Lāṭa (in Gujarat). But Ptolemy locates several towns outside Lāṭa in Larike. So, as it has long been recognised, Larike is a geo-political unit. It is the name of a political domain. See also *PHAI(8)*, p. 744.

162. Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VII, 1, 6 and 82-83. Ptolemy refers to the domain of Siri Polemaios (also spelt wrongly as Ptolemaios) as Ariake Sadinon (of which name the manuscripts furnish several variants). We have shown elsewhere that the name indicates the Āryaka (i.e. Aryan speaking) division (in contradistinction to the Dravidian speaking area in eastern Deccan) belonging to the Sātavāhana kingdom (*K D*, pp. 32-34).

163. The relation is mentioned in the Puranic lists and indicated by the epigraphic evidence (*EI*, vol. VIII, p. 60).

164. Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VII, 1, 4-5 and 62-63.

165. *EI*, vol. VIII, pp. 71 and 73.

166. *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60 and 65. Pulumāvi's last known year (regnal year 24) is supplied by an epigraph at Karle (*EI*, vol. VII, p. 71).

167. *Ibid.*, vol. XVI, pp. 23f.

168. *PHAI(8)*, pp. 744-745.

169. *Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses*, secs. 41-49.

170. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44; *PHAI(8)*, pp. 435; 441-48 and 745-746.

171. See above n. 170. According to the Junagadh inscription, Rudradāman twice defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, but due to "nearness of connection" did not destroy him (*EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44). This Sātakarṇi can be identified with Vāśisṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, whose queen is refered to in a Kanheri inscription as the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Rudra (= Rudradāman I). There are indications that Vāśishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the successor of Puḷumāvi, served at least for some time as a subordinate ruler under Rudradāman I (*PHAI(8)*, p. 745).

172. *EI*, vol. VIII, p. 44. The Kushāṇa silver coinage was confined mainly to the lower Indus country after the reformation of coinage had been effected by V'ima. So the known silver pieces of Vāsudeva I may be attributed to that area (*KSC*, pp. 38f and 73).

173. *RFKE*, pp. 120f.

174. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-173; *EFKH*, pp. 16-17.

The sudden decline in the number of deities on Kushāṇa gold coins from the time of Vāsudeva I may indicate the loss of direct contact with the Roman empire, the gold coinage of which displaying a great number of deities had earlier served as model for the Kushāṇa moneyers when V'ima reformed the Kushāṇa coinage and when great varieties of deities appeared on Kushāṇa coins in the days of Kanishka I and Huvishka. The sharp decrease in the mean quantity of pure gold and also a remarkable disproportion between the waning of the average weight and of the gold content in the Kushāṇa coinage of the period of Vāsudeva I may indicate that evil days befell the empire by sometime in the initial period of his reign (*The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XXII, 1960, p. 170 ; *RFKE*, p. 172). There is absolutely no reason to accept Cribb's suggestion that Shaka and Kipunada were two Kushāṇa kings, who ruled after Vāsudeva II (*NBIK*, pp. 101 and 106).They are nowhere convincingly referred to as Imperial Kushāṇa monarchs. Moreover, "Shaka" is the name of a group or family, and not of any individual ruler, whose scions struck coins in the post-Kushāṇa age (*KCLFR*, pp. 48, 63-64 and 68). Cribb indicates Shaka as a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, apparently because of the reference to the name "Śaka" in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. But here also the record refers to a group and not to an individual ruler.

175. *Ibid.*, pp. 230f.

176. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

177. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

178. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

179. *DKE*, pp. 22f.

180. *Ibid., pp. 85-88; RFKE*, pp. 246f.

181. *KSC*, p. 18.

182. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

183. B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka*, p. 11 and p. 20, n. 50; *Acta Antiqua Academie Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. XXV, nos. 1-4, pp. 143-4.

184. R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-181; H. Lüders, *op.cit.,* p. 138.

184a. *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XXX,1968, p. 191-192. There are variant readings of the royal name on these coins.

184b. The *Nan Cheu i wu ch'e*, composed by Wan Ch'en, explicitly stated, as known from a quotation in Chang Shou-chieh's eighth century commentary on the *Shi-chi* (ch. 123, p. 2b), that "the king of the country of the Yüeh-chih is called Son of Heaven" (*BEFEO*, 1903, vol. III, p. 267; 1904, vol. IV, pp. 277-78; *T'oung Pao*, 1923, vol. XXII, p. 123, f. n.; *Journal Asiatique*, vol. XXIV, p. 11).

The term *devaputra* was, no doubt, used in India before the Kushāṇas (*B.C. Law volume,* pt. II, pp. 306-307). But it was not used prior to the Kushāṇa period as a royal title. On the other hand, the Chinese, with whom the Yüeh-chih had contacts, used the term *T'ien-tzu* (Son of Heaven) from a much earlier period. An early king of the Yüeh-chih race, to whom the Kushāṇas belonged, might have assumed a title meaning "God King" or "Divine King" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and Great Britain,* 1966, p. 19; See also *RFKE,* p. 449, n. 7). We should not also deny the feasibility of influences from other quarters if the Kushāṇas of the time of Kujula and V'ima are considered to have been in a position to be acquainted with the facts that some early Roman emperors and also a few Arsacid monarchs were called "Sons of God" (See *RFKE,* pp. 450-451, ns. 8 and 8a).

184c. P. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, nos. 7-10. The halo behind the royal head on the coins of Huvishka and his successors (*ibid. op. cit*, pl. XXVII, no. 9; XXVIII, no. 9;XXIX, nos. 8f) and the traces of a halo on the back of the statue of Kanishka I at Mat (*DAK*, p. 197) also indicate the concept of the divine origin of Kushāṇa kingship.

185. The reading *Mahiśvara* is unacceptable, since it has practically the same import as that of the term *sarvalogaiśvara.* The reading *Maheśvara* or *Mahaśvara* is clear on some pieces (P. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, nos. 6-8).

186. *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, nos. 7-14.

187. *NBIK,* p. 95.

188. *BEFEO*, vol. LXI, 1974, pl. XIV. The right-hand semicircle of Doric *san* (or *sigma*) has been inadvertently put on the left. The term *lphado* may have developed from Sanskrit *alabhata*, "obtained" > *labhata*, with the elision of the augment *a* (*cf.bharat*< *abharat,* "maintained") and with the changing of *bha* into *phī* on account of the absence of a letter prounced as *bha* in the Greek alphabet (labhata > laphada > l [a]phado).

189. H. Lüders, *op.cit.,* p. 140; *KG* pp. 60-61.

190. H. Lüders, *op.cit.,* p. 140; R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 181; *KG*, pp. 62-63. This evidence strongly suggests that V'ima was the direct successor of Kujula on the Kushāṇa throne (as the supreme senior ruler).

191. R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 186f.

192. In this connection see H. Lüders, *op.cit.,* CII, vol. II, pt. 2, *Indian Museum Bulletin,* vol. VIII, 1973, p. 115; etc.

193. *BS*, pp. 84-85.

194. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, s. III, vol. XII, pl. XII, nos. 21-22.

195. B. N. Mukherjee, *Nanā on Lion- A Study in Kushāṇa Numismatic Art,* Calcutta, 1969 (hereafter *NL*), pp. 95-96 and fig. 32.

196. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts (and) Lexicon,* 2nd edition, New Haven, 1953, p. 116, 119, 151, etc. According to an Iranian concept, "sovereignty belongs to Ohrmazd; the king receives a portion of it, but in the end all sovereignty will return to the source, which is God "(*Dēnkart,ed.* by Madan, 92, 16-17; R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism,* London, 1975, p. 297).

197. For a detailed discussion on the cult of the empire and emperor in the Kushāṇa realm, see *RFKE*, pp. 313f.

198. *Ibid.*, pp. 324f.

199. *Ibid.*, pp. 336.

200. *Ibid.*, p. 334.

201. *Ch'ien Han-shu*, ch. 96A, p. 14b; *ASSIPH*, pp. 111.

202. *Hou Han-shu*, ch. 118, p. 9a.

203. *T'oung Pao*, 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 187, f. n. 2; *RFKE*, p. 323.

204. *ASSIPH*, p. 111; *RFKE,* p. 11.

205. Moses of Chorene, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, Venice, 1889, bk.II, ch. LXXII; *RFKE*, pp. 230-231 and 254, n. 5.

206. *RFKE*,pp. 323-324.

207. According to the *Hou Han-shu*, Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (or Kujula Kadphises) destroyed P'u-ta. This name, prounced as B'uok-d'ât in Ancient Chinese, could have the original as "Bactra".

208. *KCLFR*, pp. 20-21.

209. *Ibid.*, pl. 20, pl. XIX, no. 1; XX, no. 1; XVI, no. 2; XXII, nos. 1-2; XXVI, nos. 2 and 3; XXIII, no. 18;XXIII, no. 22; XXII, nos. 3,4 and 5; see also XXIII, nos. 3-4.

210. *NL*, pp. 11f.

211. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

212. *Ibid.*, p. 14; *KCLFR*, p. 19.

213. *NL*, pp. 17-18; *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, Special Autumn Number, 2.10. 92, p. 30.

214. *DAK*, pp. 9 and 246f.

215. *Ibid.*, coins numberd 169-178.

216. J. Hastings (editor), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. IX, New York, 1953, pp. 566-570.

217. *DAK*, p. 83; R. Ghirshman, p. 199, fig. 247.

218. *DAK*, p. 83; fig. 9.

218a. *Ibid.*, pl. V, nos. 132-133.

218b. *Ibid.*, p. 83; *NBIK*. pp. 79 and 108-9.

219. Yašt XI; *Srosh Yašt*, 1f ; *Sīrôzah,* II, 17; *Fargard,* XVIII, 14-16.

220. J. Darmesteter, *The Zend Avesta;* pt. I, reprint, Delhi, 1965, p. LXX.

221. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, pl. X, nos. 15-16.

222. B. N. Mukherjee, "Development of the Iconography of Kārttikeya in Central Asia", *Investigating Indian Art* (edited by M. Yaldaz and W. Lobo), Berlin, 1887, pp. 249f.

223. *Ibid.*, p. 259, f. no. 93.

224. *Sīrôzah*, I, 9. However, see also R. C. Zaehner, *op.cit*, p. 232.

225. *RFKE*, pp. 393f.

CHAPTER IV

EPILOGUE

The Rabatak Bactrian inscription is an extraordinary record of the history of the Kushāṇa empire. It has solved a long standing problem of determining the exact genealogical relationship between V'ima Kadphises and Kanishka I. The record also establishes that the son of Kujula was Sadashkana [1] and not Yen-kao-chen or V'ima Kadphises, as was thought so long by scholars on the basis of Chinese evidence.

The epigraph has expanded our idea about the Kushāṇa concept of divine origin of kingship. The kingship, which had absolute authority over the subjects, was sought to be legitimised by conferring on it the divine right to rule. A Kushāṇa monarch was not only "a son of god" but himself "a god". He often received his kingship through the favour of a deity. The harsh reality of military might was mitigated in the eyes of the subjects by their inculcated belief in the divine origin and legitimate rule of their masters.

The empire of Kanishka I expanded, as proved by our record, to Champā (of Aṅga) in eastern Bihar in the east and to Kuṇḍina in Vidarbha or Berar in the south. The vast empire stretching from Transoxiana to the remote parts of India was inhabited by peoples of diverse ethnic origins, religious beliefs and social habits. The membership of the empire was their only common bond. The cult of the empire and emperor was created to foster a link between different divisive forces.[2] Dynastic santuaries at Mat, Surkh-Kotal, Rabatak, Dilberjin (fort) and Aïrtam are monuments to this cult.[3] The Rabatak inscription indicates that the living as well as the dead kings were worshipped there.

It may be noted here that in the 3rd century B. C. the Maurya emperor Aśoka faced a similar problem of ruling over a territory as large as that under Kanishka I, or perhaps even a little larger area though with less heterogenous elements. Aśoka tried to eleminate the disunion and dissensions among his subjects by the propagation of the concept of Dhamma.[4]

The Kushāṇa empire was essentially a central Asian empire with it capital in Bactria, the language of which was more important to the rulers than any other language.[5] The Rabatak inscription clearly states that Kanishka I favoured the use of the Aryan (Bactrian) language.

The Kushāṇa authority was extended to India, particularly to its coast (in Sindh), primarily to control the revenue yielding maritime commerce between India and the Roman empire.[6] The dependence of the Imperial Kushāṇas on the fortune made out of taxes levied on articles of Indo-Roman commerce is fully borne out by the simultaneous decrease of the Kushāṇo-Roman trade and the beginning of the decline of the Kushāṇa empire. A vital chage in the economic structure of the empire forced the space of change in its political arena.[7] Finally it politically submitted to the Sasanids.[8]

The Rabatak inscription confirms that Kanishka I initiated a system of counting dates, perhaps beginning with his first regnal year as an independent sovereign.[9] We have already suggested that he earlier served as his father's co-ruler.

The eclectic attitude of the Imperial Kushāṇas to religion and culture is well-known.[10] The Rabatak inscription strengthens our idea about the Kushāṇas' simultaneous patronage of different cults. Even among such cults deites, whose images were installed in the Nanā Sanctuary, there were two favouring the propagation of the cult of the empire and emperor. These were Narasao and Mozdooano. While the first represented the core of the royalty, the latter its triumphant military character.

The empire was sustained on military might, divine right and economic resources. The evidence about the first two has been forcefully confirmed, perhaps more tellingly than any other source, by the Rabatak record. It is indeed a great testament of the rule of the Imperial Kushāṇas.

NOTES

1. The name of Kujula's son has been wrongly read as Vima Taktu by N. Sims-Williams.
2. *RFKE,* pp. 313-322.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315 and 393-394.
4. B. N. Mukherjee, *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka,* Calcutta, 1984, pp. 53f.
5. *RFKE*, pp. 407.
6. *EFKH*, pp. 11f.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 17.
8. *RFKE*, pp. 230f.
9. The system of counting, continued by his successors, developed into a regular reckoning now known as the Kanishka Era.
10. *RFKE*, pp. 386f.

APPENDIX I

A NOTE ON THE OLD ŚAKA ERA

According to numismatic evidence, Azes I ruled later than the Śaka or Śaka-Pahlava ruler Maues.[1] Hence the year 78, in which the Taxila inscription of Moga (or Maues) is dated,[2] is to be referred to a reckoning separate from and older than the one founded by Azes I.[3] The existence of the older era is supported by other data.

We can here refer to the Taxila silver *askos* inscription of Jihoṇika of the year 191. The inscription can be read as (sa) ka 1 (X*) 100 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 20 (+*) 10 (+*) 1 *maharaja-bhrata (Maṇi)gulasa putrasa Jihoṇikasa Chukhsasa Kshatrapasa.*[4]

Kshatrapa Jihoṇika, son of Maṇigula, seems to have been the same as Kshatrapa Jihoṇia or Jihuṇia (Zeionises), son of Maṇigula, of a great number of silver and copper coins.[5] Not only Jihoṇika of the inscription and Jihoṇia or Jihuṇia of the coin-legends held the same administrative designation and their names can be philologically correlated, but also the name of the father of one was apparently identical with that of the father of the other. Again, palaeographically the Kharoshṭī inscription of Jihoṇika and the Kharoshṭī coin-legends of Jihoṇia can be referred to the same age.[6] Jihoṇika of the epigraph ruled over Chukhsa, which included the Taxila area.[7] To the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent (including Taxila) we can assign the mints of the coins of Jihoṇia.[8] Hence, in the present state of our knowledge, Jihoṇika should be identified with Jihoṇia or Jihuṇia (Zeionises).[9]

As Kshatrapa, Jihuṇia was always a subordinate ruler in parts of the north-western region of the Indian subcontinent.[10] So the metrology and the general features of his coinage must have conformed to the contemporary imperial coinage of that area. Jihuṇia, as noted above, minted silver and copper coins. Several of his silver pieces, however, contain debased metal.[11] Since the royal Scytho-Parthian silver coinage of the region concerned became debased from the time of king Azes II,[12] these satrapal pieces, showing signs of debasemant, should be dated after the commencement of his reign. Good silver coins of Jihuṇia [13] may, therefore, be placed either in the very beginning of the completely independent reign of Azes II or rather in the period of Azilises, who ruled before as well as with Azes II. The successor of Azes II in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent was Gondophares I, who struck, *inter alia* billon coins.[14] He is not known to have struck silver coins in that area. In fact, he could not have profitably minted silver specie in that area, since it had already become heavily debased.[15] On the other hand, Jihuṇia minted silver and copper, but not billon. Hence his satrapal rule in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent should be placed before it came under the control of Gondophares I or at least before the latter struck there his billon pieces. Hence Jihuṇia served Azes II and probably also Azilises but perhaps not Gondophares I.[16] This indicates the feasibility of ascribing the inscription of Kshatrapa Jihoṇika (=Kshatrapa Jihuṇia) to a date falling several years before Vaiśākha 3 of the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahi record of Gondophares I.[17] At least the year 191 of the record of Jihoṇika should be placed before the date of the inscription of the year 103.

If the year 191 is to be placed before the year 103, these dates will have to be referred to two different eras, the older one (to which the year 191 should be assigned) having its first year inaugurated at least about (191-103=) 88 years earlier than the initial year of the younger reckoning (to which the year 103 is to be attributed). The year 103 may be referred to the Azes Era, which again may perhaps have been identical with the era of 58 B. C.[18] These inferences would tend to place the beginning of the older era before about (58 B. C. + 88 =) 146 B. C.

In this connection we may study two other epigraphic records. These were found in the Tochi valley, west of Bannu in N. W. F. P. of Pakistan. These are now in the Peshawar Museum.[19]

One of these records, which is numbered 49 in the Peshawar Museum and which we shall mention here as record no. A, consists of two inscriptions, one in Arabic and the other in Sanskrit.[20] The upper part of the slab is occupied by an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters, below which appears a Sanskrit inscription in the Sāradā script.[21]

The Arabic inscription speaks of an order given by one Fayy ibn 'Ammār for constructing (i.e. excavating) a pond and states that this (i. e. the epigraph) "was written on Friday, when three and ten (*bi thalāthate aʿshara*) (i e. thirteen) days had passed from the month of Jāmada'l awwal in the year ? and forty and two hundred" (*Sanata ? wa ar'bay'in wa me'atain*) [22] (i.e. in the year 240 + X). It is clear from the text that the Friday in question fell on the fourteenth day of the month of Jamāda I of the Hijra year 240 + X, after thirteen days of that month had already elapsed.[23] The word indicating the unit digit of the intended year is not clearly decipherable.[24] It has been read by M. H. Kuraishi as *thalātha* meaning "three".[25] But the form of the word concerned does not at all correspond to that of the term *thalātha*, which is undoubtedly used in expressing the number of days (13) elapsed in the month of Jamāda I. Moreover, since the fourteenth day of Jamāda I fell on a Friday only in 242 A. H. and not in any other year of the forties of the third century of the Hijra era, to which period the date concerned must be attributed, the intended reading of the word conveying the unit digit of the year should be taken as *ithna*, meaning "two". In fact, if *alif* is considered as misplaced in the word in question, having been inscribed in the middle instead of in the beginning of the word, it can be read as *ithna*. In any case, there is no doubt that the year concerned could have been only 242 A.H.[26] Friday, 14th of Jamāda I, 142 A.H., corresponded to Friday, 18th of September, A.D. 856.[27]

The Sanskrit inscription, inscribed below the Arabic inscription, is dated in the second *tithi* (as well as) day 2 of the dark (fortnight) of the month of *Kārttika* of the year (samvat) 32.[28] Though the purpose of this inscription is not clear, as it is partly mutilated,[29] its location suggests that it perpetuates the same meritorious act which is mentioned in the Arabic epigraph in a language and script more easily understandable in the locality in question. So, the date of the Sanskrit record should have corresponded to the date mentioned in the Arabic inscription or at least should have fallen shortly after that. In fact, the year 32 can be referred to A. D. 856, if it is ascribed, as it has already been done, [30] to the Śāstra or Laukika Era.[31] It is well-known that this reckoning was in use in early mediaeval age in different areas of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, including Kāś mīra.[32] In writing the years of this era the figures for hundred were generally omitted.[33] The year (39) 32 of the Laukika Era commenced in March of A. D. 856 [34] and so was in progress when the Arabic inscription was recorded in September, A. D. 856. In fact, 242 A.H., which began on May 10 of A.D. 856, could roughly correspond to the year (39) 32 of the Laukika Era, which started on *Chaitra śu di* 1, falling on March 11, A.D. 856.[35]

The second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kārttika of the year (39) 32 of the Laukika Era, the date of the Sanskrit epigraph, fell on Saturday, September 19, A.D. 856.[36] It seems to have been engraved on the day following the Friday (September 18, A.D. 856), mentioned in the Arabic inscription. So, both the documents may be dated to one and the same week of September of A.D. 856.

Another stone slab found at Khazana in the Tochi agency also deserves attention. This is numbered 15 in the collection of the Peshawar Museum,[37] and we shall mention it as record no. B. It bears two dated inscriptions, one in the Sanskrit language and the Sāradā script and the other in the Bactrian language and cursive Greek script. The Sanskrit epigraph appears on the left half and the Bactrian inscription on the right half of the slab. Two vertical lines divide them.[38] The relative positions of these epigraphs indicate that they were inscribed or intended to be inscribed simultaneously or at least at about the same time. So, the dates of these inscriptions are correlated.[39]

The date of the Sanskrit inscription of record B is the seventh *tithi* (as well as) day 7 of the bright (fortnight) (of the month) of Bhādra of the year (*samvat*) 38.[40] The style of writing the date of this epigraph is similar to that of the Sanskrit inscription of record A. Moreover, palaeographic features of the Sanskrit inscriptions of records A and B, both of which have been discovered in the Tochi valley area, do not indicate any appreciable interval between their dates.[41] Hence the year 38 should be referred, like the year 32 of the Sanskrit inscription of record A, to the fortieth century of the Laukika Era. (For further evidence see below n. 52). The year 38 should, therefore, be considered to stand for (39) 38, which commenced on March 5 or 6, A.D. 862.[42] The 7th *tithi* of the bright half of

Bhādra of the year (39) 38 of the Laukika Era fell on Thursday, August 6 of A.D. 862.[43]

The Bactrian inscription of record B was written in *XþONO X:Λ :B: MOYO OþOI.*[44] This portion of the epigraph was translated by A.H. Dani,H. Humbach and R. Göbl as "the year 632, month six". [45] This translation seems to have been accepted by K.W. Dobbins.[46] A. H. Dani, H. Humbach and R. Göbl referred the year 632 to an era beginning in (A.D.862-632=) A.D. 230, and wondered whether it was established by Po-t'iao (i.e. the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva II) after the return of a "delegation" which he had sent to the Chinese court in A.D. 230, or "by a rival who was successful in the meantime."[47] H. Humbach later suggested that the reckoning was initiated in A. D. 232 with the establishment of the rule of the "Sasanian Kushānshāhs"[48] (i.e. with the establishment of the Sasanian rule in Kushānshahr). This view is supported by J. Cribb.[49] K.W. Dobbins thinks that the year one of this era was A. D. 231-32. He observes that the beginning of this reckoning can be explained as the "Yavana Era" of 170 B. C. "with hundreds digit omitted in its fifth century".[50]

None of the above hypotheses about the origin of the era in question is convincing. There is no reliable evidence of the beginning of an era in or near the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent in A.D. 230 or 231 or 232. Moreover, no parallel example can be cited from the zone and period in question of the introduction of the practice of omitting the figures of hundreds from the years of a reckoning after the system of counting such figures had been in existence for four hundred years.

The fundamental weakness of the theories of the above scholars lies in the fact that they have not been able to interpret correctly the reading of the date in the Bactrian inscription. They have not realised that in inscriptions the letter *chī* can stand for the figure 1000.[51] Hence Xþoνo X:Λ : B can be taken to mean "the year 1000+30+2".[52]

We have noted above that the date of the Bactrian inscription should correspond to or at least should be proximate to the date of the Sanskrit inscription of the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādra of the year (39) 38, which fell on August 6, A.D. 862. This means that the year 1032 of the Bactrian inscription should have at least roughly or partly corresponded to A. D. 862. Hence the reckoning indicated in the Bactrian inscription had begun about 1032 years before sometime of A.D. 862. So the era was started in (1032-A.D. 862=) c. 170 B.C. and its year one fell in 170-69 B.C.

If the expression *MOYO OþOI* after *XþONO X:Λ :B* has been correctly interpreted as "month six", and if the Bactrian inscription was written in or about August of A.D. 862, the year 1032 might have commenced in February-March of A.D.862. This may suggest that the era in question had been counted from February-March of 170 B.C.

We have already shown that the first year of the oldest of the eras widely used in the dated Kharoshṭī documents should be placed before 146 B. C. (see above).[53] This era can now be easily and convincingly identified with the reckoning which the combined evidence of the Tochi records, discussed above, proves to have begun in c. 170 B.C. There is no escape from this conclusion, since we do not know of the establishment of any other era in the second century B.C. in or near the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, where the era concerned is known to have been used and where the Tochi records have been found.

The above reasoning thus places in c. 170 B. C. the beginning of the oldest of the eras widely used in the Kharoshṭī inscriptions and also in several Bactrian inscriptions. The year one of this reckoning fell in c. 170-69 B.C.[54]

The era of c. 170 B.C. can be convincingly identified with the reckoning used in the Taxila inscription of Jihoṇika, since, as we have demonstrated above, he used a system of dating which must have begun before 146 B.C. The appearance of the word *(Sa)ka* before the figures for the year 191 in the record of Jihoṇika, may suggest that at least in the closing decade of the second century of the reckoning in question it was called the Saka (Śaka) Era. In order to distinguish it from the more well known Śaka Era of A.D. 78, we may call it the Old Śaka Era.[55]

The combined evidence of certain passages of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* indicates clearly that the Great Yüeh-chih, ousted by the Hsiung-nu from their "original habitat", invaded and occupied the Sai country, and that thereupon the Sai King moved southwards, crossed Hsüan-tu and became ruler of Chi-pin, and that some time later when the Yüeh-chih themselves were (at least partly) forced out the Sai country by the Wu-sun, they moved west and occupied Ta-hsia.[56] All these events took place during the region of the Hsiung-nu chief Chi-chu, who had the title of Lao-shang shan-yü and who ruled from c. 174 to 160 or 158 B. C.[57] So the migration of the Sai king from the Sai country must have begun sometime between c. 174 and 160 or 158 B.C. The date should be placed nearer to c. 174 B. C. than to c. 160 or 158 B.C., since a certain number of years must have elapsed between the entry of the Great Yüeh-chih into the Sai country and their exit from it.[58]

The term *Sai,* known to have been pronounced in Archaic Chinese as *Sə k*, has been identified with the name *Saka* (*Śaka*).[59] The Sai or Śaka country has been located in the Issyk-Kul area in Kirgizia,[60] It has already been shown that Chi-pin of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* singnifies the political (or administrative) jurisdiction of a region which could be reached after crossing the Hsüan-tu or "Hanging Passage", located along the Indus in the extreme north-west of the Indian subcontinent.[61] The region included ancient Kāśmīra. In fact, the latter name was transformed into *Chi-pin* in Chinese.[62] (*Kāśmīra* > *Kāsvīr(a)* > *Kaspir* > Archaic Chinese *Ki̭ad-pi̭en*, Ancient Chinese *Kiäi-pi̭en* and Middle Chinese *Kiếi-pyin* >

**Kā(t) s-pīn* (*-en) > *Chi-pin*).[63]

It appears from the Chinese source that a Śaka movement under a Śaka king began from the Issyk-kul area on a date not far removed from c. 174 B. C. and that he migrated to the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and established there a Śaka kingdom. The earliest examples of the use of the era of c. 170 B.C. have been provided by this region. Hence, if the era of c. 170 B.C. had been originally associated with the Śakas, it might have come into existence out of counting years from the date of an event in the reign of the Śaka king in question.[64]

Whether the above interpretation of the Chinese evidene is acceptable or not, it seems fairly certain that a system of counting originated in the north-west of the Indian subcontinent in c. 170 B.C. and that in its late second century it was known as the Śaka Era. As noted above, it may be called as the Old Śaka Era in order to distinguish it from the more well-known Śaka Era of A.D. 78.[65]

NOTES

1. K.A.N. Sastri (editor), *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, *The Mauryas and the Sātavāhanas*, c. 32 B.C. - A.D. 300, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 197-198; *ASSIPH*, pp. 12, 171-172 and 199f. Of all the Śaka-Pahlava rulers of the Indian subcontinent, Maues used only Greek Legend at least on one class of his coins (G.K. Jenkins and A.K. Narain, *Coin-Types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India*, Varanasi, 1957, p.1, no. 7). This class of specie, which displays an elephant's head and a caduceus and the legend *Basileos Mauou,* bears very close resemblance to the type and legend of a variety of coins of the Indo-Greek ruler Demetrius I (or rather II) (A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1957, p. 52). Other classes of coins of Maues and all coins of Azes I bear more presumptuous titles in Greek and Prakrit. Again, the stylistic affinity of the coins of the early Greek kings of the subcontinent, who certainly reigned earlier than the Azes group, is more towards the coins of Maues than towards those of Azes I.

2. *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1985, vol. XX, pp. 8-10.

3. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 28. A.H. Dani's claim about the appearance of the name of Maues in certain rock inscriptions in the Chilas (II) area (A.H. Dani, *Chilas, The City of the Nanga Parvat (Dyamar),*Islamabad, 1983, p. 93; no. 72; p. 99, no. 78; p. 109, no. 85; pp. 96, 100-101 and 110) has now been proved to be wrong (K. Jettmar, editor, *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan,* vol. I, Mainz, 1989, p. 23, no 13, pls. 26 and 29 ; pp. 17-18, no. 9, pl. 20; pp. 21-22, no. 12, pl. 24).

4. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 82 and pl. XVI; *CSADOSE*, pls. VII-VIII.

5. G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 24; p. Gardner, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London, 1886, pl. XXIII, nos. 4-5; R. B.Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford, 1914, pl. XVI, no. 82.

6. Compare *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, pl. XVI with R. B. Whitehead, *op.cit.*, pl. XVI, no. 82.

7. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 82.

8. The appearance of a lion, a well-known local type of Taxila (J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, pp. 223-226,) on a class of Jihoṇia's copper coins, displaying a lion and a bull (R. B. Whitehead, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 158, no. 84; pl. XVI, no. 84), may allow us to attribute these to *(inter alia)* Taxila. One of his reverse types showing a male being crowned by a city-deity has been attributed to Pushkālavatī (E. J. Rapson,

editor, *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, *Ancient India*, Cambridge, 1922, p. 588; *ASSIPH*, p. 174).

9. For arguments against the hypotheses which distinguish Jihoṇika of the inscription and Jihoṇia of coins, see *CSADOSE*, pp. 42 and 44.

10. *ASSIPH*, pp. 173-74.

11. This inference is based on our examination of a fairly large number of coins of Zeionises. See also *ibid.*, p. 25-26.

12. *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1960, vol. XXII, p. 69.

13. A few good silver coins of Jihoṇia were seen by the present author in the Singhi Collection in Calcutta. See also P. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 110; R. B. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 157; etc.

14. R. B. Whitehead, *op.cit.*, pp. 146f; *ASSIPH*, pp. 98f.

15. *ASSIPH*, pp. 223-225.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174 and 188-189.

17. *CII*, vol. II, pt. I, p.62.

18. *Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1985, vol. XX, pp. 12f.

19. M. A. Shakur, *A Handbook to the Inscriptions Gallery of the Peshawar Museum*, Peshwar, 1946, p. 44, pl. XV, no. 1; pp. 109f.

20. M. H. Kuraishi, "A Kufic Sarada Inscription from the Peshwar Museum", *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-26, pp. 27-28; pl. XI, no. b; A. H. Dani, H. Humbach and R. Göbl, "Tochi Valley Inscriptions in the Peshawar Museum", *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, pp. 131-132.

21. See above n. 20; H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, pt. II, Wiesbaden, 1966, pl. 24.

22. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-26, pl. XI, no. b; H. Humbach, *op.cit.*, pt.II, pl.24.

23. A. H. Dani and others have wrongly translated the portion containing the date as "Friday, the thirteenth day of Jumāda I of the year 243 A. H." *(Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 128).

24. See above n. 22.

25. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-26, p. 28.

26. A. H. Dani, H. Humbach and R. Göbl unnecessarily first read the year as 243 A. H.

and then amended it as 242 A.H. (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, pp. 128 and 134. f. n. 36). H. Humbach, who now considers the year as 243 A. H., wants to replace "Friday" by "Tuesday, since the 13th of Jamāda I in 243 A. H. was a Tuesday" (H. Humbach, *op.cit.*, pt. I, Wisebadan, 1966, p. 108). We have already shown that the day in question was fourteenth, "when thirteenth days had passed from the month of Jamāda I". And since the fourteenth was a Friday in 242 A. H. and not in 243 A. H., the year concerned should be taken as 242 A.H.

27. L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, vol. II, p. 115.

28. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-26, p. 28.

29. *Ibid.*, pl. XI, no. b.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

31. The suggestion ascribing the year 32 to the Śāstra or the Laukika Era has been accepted by all scholars who have studied this inscription (*Ancient Pakisthan*, 1964, vol. I, 134; H. Humbach, *op.cit.*,pt. I, p. 12; etc).

32. Al Bīrūnī, *Tahqīq-i-Hind.*, ch. XLIX; E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, reprint, Delhi, 1964, pp. 8-9; M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. I, Westminister 1900, p. 58; *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, pp. 150-151; A. Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras* (reprint), Varanasi, 1970, pp. 11 f; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, p. 320; etc.

33. Al Bīrūnī, *loc.cit.*; E. Sachau, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 8; M. A. Stein, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 58. The figures for hundred sometimes occur in certain almanacs of Kāśmīra (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, pp. 150-151).

34. L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 214; A Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 165. The Laukika Era is believed to have begun on *Chaitra śu di I* of Kali Samvat 25 (expired) or 3076-75 B. C. (M. A. Stein, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 58; G. Bühler, *Report*, p. 60; etc). The Laukika years are counted from the first day of the bright fortnight of the luni-solar month of Chaitra (M. A. Stein, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 58). A verse (VII, 127) of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* refers to the death of Saṁgrāmarāja on the first day of Āshāḍha in the year (four thousand one hundred and) four, while another verse (VII, 131) of the same text records the death of his son and successor Harirāja after a reign of twenty-four days and on the eighth day of the bright half of Āshāḍha. The combined evidence of these two verses proves that in early medieval age months of a year of the Laukika Era started with the first day of the dark fortnight and so were *Pūrṇimānta*. The same system was followed also in later periods (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, pp. 149-150).

A verse of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* states that "in the twenty-fourth year (i.e. *in the year four thousand two hundred and twenty-four)* of the Laukika (Era) one thousand and seventy years of the Śaka Era have passed" (*Italics ours*) (I, 52; M. A. Stein, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. ll f.n. 50). This verse shows that the years of the Laukika Era were reckoned as "current" years and not as "expired" years, and that the number of the current Laukika year with the hundreds omitted would give, when added to 46, the "number of the expired Śaka year without the hundreds" *(Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, p. 151; D. C. Sircar, *op.cit.*, p. 320).

The Śaka year 1070 (expired) or A. D. (1070 + 78-79) 1148-49 fell in the year (42) 24 of the Laukika Era. So (39) 32 Laukika year should have corresponded to [1148/49 - (4224- 3932)] A. D. 856-57. And since the Laukika years are counted from *Chaitra śu di 1*, the year 3932 of the Laukika Era commenced in March, A. D. 856. The exact date was Wednesday, March 11, A. D. 856 (A Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 165; L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 114).

35. A. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 165; L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 114.

36. If the year is counted from the first day of bright fortnight of Chaitra, and if the months are considered as ending with the last day of the dark fortnight, there should be fifteen fortnights from the beginning of the bright half of Chaitra to that of the dark half of Kārttika. This system of calculation has led L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai to place the second *tithi* of the dark half of Kārttika on October 19, A. D. 856 (*op.cit.*, vol. II, pp. 114-115). But the months in a Laukika Era are taken as ending with the last day of the bright half, even though the years are counted from the first day of the bright half of Chaitra (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, vol. XX, p. 149). This system suggests that there should be thirteen fortnights between the beginning of the bright half of Chaitra and that of the dark half of Kārttika. Hence the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kārttika of the Laukika year 39 (32) (A. D. 856-57) should have fallen two fortnights earlier than October 19 of A. D. 856. The first and second *tithis* of that dark fortnight fell on Saturday, September 19, A. D. 856 (L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p.115).

37. M. A. Shakur, *op.cit.*, p. 109.

38. H. Humbach, *op.cit.*, pt. II, pl. 25.

39. That a Bactrian epigraph could have been written on an object simultaneously with a record in another language and script is suggested by the reference to a particular person in the Bactrian inscription and also in an inscription in the Brāhmī script, both appearing on a ware found at Kara Tepe (B.Y. Stavisky, *Buddhieskiy Kultoviy Tsentr Kara-Tepe v Starom Termeze*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 118-121; pl. XXIII).

40. H. Humbach, *op.cit.*, pt. I, p. 109, pt. II, pl.25; *Ancient Pakistan* 1964, vol. I, p. 130.
41. Compare, pl. 24 with pl. 25 in H. Humbach. *op.cit.*, pt. II. Note the forms of the letters *sa, da*, etc. appearing in these two records (*CSADOSE*, pls. III and IV).
42. A. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 165; L.D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 126.
43. L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 127.
44. H. Humbach, *op.cit.*, pt. II, pl. 25;pt. I, p. 110; *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 132.
45. See above n. 40. H. Humbach first read the year as 612 (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 132, f. n. 29), but later changed his reading. See also *BW*, p. 70.
46. *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, p. 24.
47. *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 133.
48. H. Humbach, *op.cit.*, pt. I, pp. 14-16. H. Humbach had to fix the initial year of the era concerned in A. D. 232, since he read the year of the Arabic inscription of record A as 243, corresponding roughly to A. D. 857, and since he thought that the year (39) 38 of the Sanskrit inscription of record B, which probably corresponded to the year 632 (sic) of the Bactrian inscriptions, fell six years after A. D. 857 (*ibid.*, pp. 14-15). We have already shown that the year mentioned in the Arabic inscription must be read as 242 A. H. Moreover, the date of the Sanskrit inscription of the year (39) 38 should be fixed approximately six years after that of the Sanskrit epigraph of the year (39) 32, which fell in A. D. 856.
49. *NBIK*, p. 105.
50. *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, vol. VII, pp. 24 and 32. For the observations of I. Gershevitch on the Tochi inscriptions, see *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1967-68, pp. 36f.
51. H. Liddel and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1961), p. 1969. In "inscriptions X stands for χί χοι,αι,a,=1000" (*ibid.*,).
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 1969, 1020 and 300.

An inscribed stone slab found at Sher Talao in the Tochi Agency and now preserved in the Peshawar museum may be relevant to our study. Its uppermost portion is occupied by an Arabic inscription in Kufic characters. A Bactrian inscription in cursive Greek script can be noticed below the Arabic epigraph. A neatly drawn horizontal line divides the two (M. A. Shakur, *op.cit.*, pl. XIII, no. 8; *Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, pp. 128 and 132-133; H. Humbach, *op.cit.*, pt. I, pp. 112-116; pt. II, pl. 26; *CSADOSE*, pl. VI). The purport of the Bactrian epigraph , which is dated in Xþovo X:Λ :E is not very clear. On the other hand, the extant portion of the Arabic inscription, which seems to perpetuate an act of one 'Abbas ibn 'Unayya, does not contain a date. Nevertheless, the relative positions of these two documents suggest that they were inscribed about the same time. Or at least, the fact that the person responsible for inscribing the Arabic epigraph utilised the best visible portion of the slab tends to place it earlier, and certainly not later, than the Bactrian epigraph in question. This means that Χþονο Χ: Λ : Ε or the year 1000 (+) 30 (+) 5 of the Bactrian inscription cannot be dated before the advent of Islam in the Tochi area. The earliest evidence of such a political development in the history of this locality is provided by our record no. A, in which the Arabic inscription is dated in (A. H.) 242 and the Sanskrit inscription is dated in (39) 32 (of the Laukika Era) (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, pp. 128 and 135). Hence the year 1035 of the Bactrian epigraph on the Sher Talao slab should not be placed, in the present state of our knowledge, before the second quarter of the third century of the Hijra era and also of the fortieth century of the Laukika Era. If the purposes for inscribing the Sher Talao stone with an Arabic inscription and also with a Bactrian inscription immediately below it were one and the same, both of them should be dated to one of the early decades of the first penetration of Islam into the area concerned, when it would have been natural to feel the necessity of recording an act of a devotee of Islam in a language intelligible in that locality as well as in Arabic. This indicates that the year 1035 may not be placed after the second quarter of the third century of the Hijra Era and also of the fortieth century of the Laukika Era. It should, however, be remembered that we have no definite knowledge of the purport of the Bactrian inscription appearing below the Arabic inscription on the Sher Talao slab. We should also admit the difficulty of understanding another Bactrian inscription, dated in Χþονο Χ : Λ : Ε or [i.e. in the year 1000 (+) (30) (+) 5 or (+) 6, which is apparently recorded as appearing in a separate portion of the Sher Talao stone (*Ancient Pakistan*, 1964, vol. I, p. 134; H. Humbach, *op.cit.*, pt. I, p. 116 and pt. II, pl. 271; *BW*, pp. 72-74).

Nevertheless, the above line of reasoning allows us to infer that the year 1032 of the Bactrian inscription of record B, which is obviously to be assigned to the reckoning used in Sher Talao Bactrian inscriptions of the year 1035, and so also the year 38 of record B should be placed in or at least not earlier than the second quarter of the fortieth century of the Laukika Era. Hence the year 38 of the Sanskrit inscription of record B may very well be interpreted as (39) 38 of the Laukika Era. At least it is better, in the present state of our knowledge, to refer the year 38 to the Laukika Era, than to consider it a regnal year.

53. In this connection see also *ASSIPH*, pp. 188-189; *East and West*, 1971, vol. XXI, p. 72; etc.

54. K. W. Dobbins seems to be right in guessing that the era concerned (which he calls the Yavana Era) began in c. 170 B. C. His hypothesis was based mainly on his interpretations of some numismatic data and the testimonies of the records of Maues (year 78), V'ima Kadphises (year 187) and Jihoṇika (year 191), and the Surkh-Kotal inscription of the year 275 or 279. K. W. Dobbins thinks that the combined evidence "argues for a date in round figures between 180 and 160 B.C. for the beginning of the Yavana Era. The mean year is 170 B. C. "(*Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, 1970, vol. VII, pp. 29-30). His arguments thus do not fix the beginning of the era in c. 170 B. C. with any amount of exactitude. His interpretation of the date of the Bactrian inscription of record B is also wrong. Similarly, the theory suggesting an era of Eucratides beginning in c. 172 B. C. is not supported by cogent evidence. (G. Fussman, *BEFEO*, vol. LXVII, 1980, pp. 35-42). The "year 24" mentioned in any inscription need not necessarily be referred to the reign of Eucratides, the exact date of the commencement of whose reign is also not known. The year one of the era can now be convincingly ascertained on the basis of the evidence of the Tochi records. In 1973 we put forward the evidence used here in *CSADOSE*, pp. 56f.

55. *CSADOSE,* pp. 83-86.

56. *Ch'ien Han-shu*, ch. 61, pp. 4a; ch. 96A, pp. 10b and 14b; ch. 96B, p. 1b.

57. *Ibid.*, ch. 61, p. 4a; ch. 96 A, p. 14b; A.L. Basham (editor), *Papers on the Date of Kanishka*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 262-363; B.Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, vol. II, New York, 1961, pp. 173-175; *ASSIPH*, p. 209, n. 41.

58. See also *CSADOSE*, pp. 80-87.

59. A. L. Basham (editor) , *op.cit.*, p. 88, no.t.

60. A. Hermann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, Taipei, pp. 17 and 21.

61. *ASSIPH*, p. 193; M. A. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. I, London, 1921, p. 8.

62. L. Petech, *Northern India According to the Shui-chung-chu,* Rome, 1950, p. 64; *Asia Major*, vol. IX, pt. II, p. 218; M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vol. II, Westminister, 1900, p. 386; *ASSIPH*, p. 193.

63. See above n. 62. We may note the forms *Kaspiraioi* and *Kaspeira* (both related to the name Kāśmīra) in Ptolemy's *Geographike Huphegesis*, VII, 1, 47 and 48.

64. *ASSIPH*, p. 88. Patañjali, who was probably a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga (c. 187-151 B. C.), noticed the presence of the Śakas in the extreme north-west of the subcontinent. According to him, the Śakas lived outside Āryāvarta, situated to the south of the Himavat or the Himalaya region (*Mahābhāshya*, II, 4, 10). This reference to the presence of the Śakas in the fringes of north-western India in the second half

of the 2nd century B. C. tallies very well with Chinese source suggesting the Śaka migration to Chi-pin (in north-western India) by a date not very much later than c. 174 B. C.

65. The Parthian Era of 247 B. C. (Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucids et les Parthes*, 1965, p. 36) could have been in use for some time in and near the Arsacid domain during the period of the Imperial Parthian rule. So it could have been known in Bactria and Paropanisadai and Arachosia. So the year 279 of the great record at Dasht-e-Nawur (100 kms to the south-west of Kabul and 40 kms to the west of Ghazni and within the limits of ancient Paropanisadai or Arachosia) and the year 275 or 279 of an unfinished (?) inscription at Surkh-Kotal (situated within the limits of ancient Bactria) can be referred to this reckoning. Since V'ima Kadphises is mentioned also in the Khaltse inscription of the year 187, assignable to the era of c. 170 B. C., the year 279 of the Dasht-e-Nawur epigraph, referring to the same king, will have to be referred to an older era. The dates (years 187 and 279) can be placed near each other if the years 187 and 279 are attributed respectively to the era of c. 170 B. C. and that of c. 247 B. C. The resultant dates are c. A. D. 17 and 32 (see also *BEFEO*, vol. LXI, 1974, pp. 40f ; vol. LXVII, 1980, pp. 36f).

APPENDIX II

A "MIXED" SCRIPT OF CENTRAL ASIA AND THE INDIAN BORDERLANDS

Some epigraphs in an undeciphered script have been discovered in the last four decades in Afghanistan, South Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. These have been unearthed so far at Surkh-Kotal, Dasht-e-Nawur and Ai-Khanum in Afghanistan, Kara-tepe, Fayaz-tepe and Khalchayan in Uzbekistan, Kafirnigan-tepe in Tadzhikistan, Old Merv in Turkmenistan, and Khatyn-Rabat, Tekkuz-tepe, locality of Kolchzabad and Issyk mound near Alma Ata in Kazakhstan.[1]

The earliest or rather one of the oldest of these records is the inscription engraved in one line (looking like a semi-circle) on a silver ingot found at Ai-Khanum, the urban settlement of which was destroyed (or deserted) in c. 130-125 B. C.[2] While the majority of the letters of this inscription can be recognised as belonging to the Aramaic alphabet or to one of its two branches called Sogdian and Parthian, a few seem to be of Greek origin. But the definite identity of two characters is yet to be established.[3] The Surkh-Kotal inscription of the early Kushāṇa age includes letters from both these groups and also some Kharoshṭī characters.[4] The fact that third line of this record of three lines occupies only the right side of the length covered by each of the first two lines, though its first character from the right is placed immediately below the first character from the right in the second line, surely proves that the script concerned was used to be written from the right to the left.[5]

The triscriptual record at Dasht-e-Nawur belongs to the reign of the Kushāṇa emperor V'ima Kadphises (1st century A. D.).[6] One of the inscriptions is in the Bactrian language and the Greek script. The second one is in Kharoshṭī and Prākrit. The inscription in the unknown script includes Greek, Aramaic (or Parthian) and Kharoshṭī characters.[7]

The evidence of the above noted epigraphs and the characters printed on some potsherds from Kara-tepe indicate the employment of conjunct letters and signs for medial vowels(?) even while writing characters of Greek and Aramaic (or Parthian or Sogdian) origins. This feature was introduced probably under the Indian influence.

The identity of the language of the records in question is still uncertain. The hypotheses about its affiliation to a Kambojian language[8] or to Bactrian[9] or Prakrit[10] or a Saka dialect,[11] are of speculative nature. Another theory may be that the script concerned, employing Greek, Aramaic (or rather Sogdian or Parthian) and Kharoshṭī characters (at least during the Kushāṇa age), could have been used for Sogdian (in the area of Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus, where the Sogdian alphabet was known), Bactrian (written in Greek characters in Bactria in north Afghanisthan) and North-Western Prakrit (in the Kharoshṭī-using zone to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush).

This "mixed" script could have been artificially devised to serve as a common medium of writing in the inter-linked zones of Sogdiana, Bactria and Kamboja or Kapiśā (to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush). In any case, it is clear that the script initially consisted of at least Greek and Aramaic (or Sogdian or Parthian) letters. Later, probably in the early Kushāṇa age (late 1st century B. C. and 1st century A.D.) the Kharoshṭī alphabet became connected with the script concerned. Kharoshṭī had been in use in Kapiśā[12], which area came closer to Bactria and Sogdiana with the establishment of a common political authority over the territories concerned.

NOTES

1. *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXVI, p. 417; G.A. Pugochenkova, *Khalchyan*, Tashkent, 1966, p. 59 and fig. 35; *Bulletin de l'École Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, 1974, vol. LXI, pp. 22f and pl. V; *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol. IV, pp. 14f; *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Letters, Comtes Rendus*, April-June, 1980, pp. 439-40; B. Y. Stavisky, *Kara-Tepe, 1974-77*, Moscow, 1982, pp. 160f; V. V. Vertogradova, *Indian Inscriptions and inscriptions in Unknown Lettering from Kara-Tepe in old Termez*, Moscow, 1985, pp. 34f; J. Harmatta (editior), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, Paris, 1994, p. 417; etc.

2. The Greek city at Ai-Khanum in Bactria seems to have come to an end with the conquest of Greek Bactria by groups of nomads in c.130-125 B. C. (*ASSIPH*, pp. 70-71). The inscription on a silver cup at Issyk has been sought to be attributed to the 3rd century B. C. (J. Harmatta, *op.cit.*, pp. 420-421).

3. *Academie des inscriptiones et Belles-Letters, comptes Rendus*, April-June, 1980, p. 440, fig. 3.

4. *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, vol. CCXVI, pl. IV.

5. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol.IV, pp. 14-15.

6. *BEFEO*, 1974, vol. LXI, pp. 12f and pls. XIV and XXIII.

7. *Ibid.*

8. G. Fussman, *ibid.*, p. 33.

9. P. Bernard. *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Letteres, Comptes Rendus,* April-June, 1980, p. 439.

10. B. N. Mukherjee, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, vol.IV, p. 21.

11. J. Harmatta, *op.cit.*, pp. 420-421.

    J. Harmatta observes that "if we tentatively substitute the syllabic value of the Kharoshṭhī (*sic*) alphabet, the resultant text has a Saka character." But the transcriptions of the inscriptions following this principle do not always tally with the readings suggested by Harmatta. To illustrate this point we may refer to the first word in an inscription from Ai-Khanum read by him as *a-l-za-to* (p. 421). But it is not at all supported by the first four characters in the copy of the inscription published by P. Bernard (*Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Letteres, Commpte Rendus*, 1980, p. 440). No doubt, the first character can be read as Kharoshṭī *a*, but it can also be deciphered as Aramaic (or Parthian) *waw* or *pe*. The next charecter may be read as Aramaic (or Sogdian or Parthian) *zayin*. But the third character defies any convicing reading. As we have noted above, the majority of the letters in this inscription seem to belong to the Aramic alphabet, or to one of its two branches called Sogdian and Parthian and a few seem to be of Greek origin. But the definite identity of two characters is still to be established. At least there is no doubt that Harmatta is wrong in assuming the Kharoshṭī origin of all characters of the script concerned. The chart of the known letters prepared by V. Vertogradova exposes the fault in Harmatta's assumption. (V. Vertogradova, *Indiskaya Epigraphika iz Kara-Tepe v Starom Termeze,* Moscow, 1995, p. 135).

The suggested relationship of the language concerned with Khotanese Saka (attested mainly by documents of a much later age) is also open to question. In fact, if Harmatta's readings are wrong, since all characters are certainly not of Kharoshṭī origin, their connection with a Saka dialect, assumed on the basis of his readings, is bound to be doubted seriously. Harmatta himself is not sure at least in one place where he wonders whether the "unknown script" "can really be derived from the Kharoshthī (*sic*) alphabet" (p. 434). It is, however, interesting to note that if the inscription in the "mixed" script on a silver bowl found at Issyk has really been recovered from a mound in association with Scythian objects; then the script could have been known during the period to which the other objects are datable. But even this datum does not prove that the inscription's language was a Śaka dialect.

12. J. Harmatta, *op.cit.*, p. 434.

APPENDIX III

A LIST OF BACTRIAN INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING OR ALLUDING TO KUSHĀṆA KINGS

1. *Dasht-e-Nawur Trilingual Rock Inscription*

Dasht-e-Nawur is situated 100 kms to the south-west of Kabul and 25 kms west of Ghazni in eastern Afghanistan. A rock on the western side of Dasht-e-Nawur is engraved with five inscriptions. One of these, consisting of thirteen lines, is written in the Bactrian Language and in Greek characters. It is numbered DN I. To its north-west is an inscriptions of nine lines, in a mixed script and an unknown language (see Appendix II). It is marked DN III. Below it is a fragmentary Prakrit inscription (consisting at least six lines) in the Kharoshṭī script. It is known as DN IV. To the west of DN III is DN V, a fragmentary Bactrian inscription, having probably five lines. To the north-east of DN IV is an engraving in two lines. It is written in the above noted mixed script and unknown language.

The inscription numbered DN I refers to the year 279 and to king Ooēmo Tak(s̆́)o(m)o. DN IV mentiones the year 279 and the king emperor Vhama Kuśa. The inscription in unknown language (DN III), engraved practically between DN I And DN IV, is generaly asssumed to belong to the same year and ruler. The year 279, assigned to the Parthian Era of 247 B.C., corresponds to A. D. 32.

The Bactrian inscription is very much weather-beaten. It is difficult to be sure of any reading from line 7 to 13, while a plausible reading may be offered for the first six lines. The fragmentary nature of DN IV also does not allow any coherent reading of the text. However, it is certain that the initial part of both the records are dated in the mouth of Gorpios (Gopiu) of the year 279 and in the reign of Ooēmo Takšomo = Vhama Kuśa. The king can be identified with V'ima Kadphises (see Chapters II and III).

Lines 2 to 6 attribute different epithets to the monarch. The last section of line 5 and line 6 can be read as *kidi pido i Xobe I(s̆́)ane šaodane l*[*a*]*phad*(*o*), meaning "who (i.e. V'ima), owing to (or because of) the good Īśāna (Śiva) obtained the kingship."

Select Bibliography: G. Fussman, *BEFEO*, vol. LXI, 1974, pp. 1f; A.D.H. Bivar, *BSOAS*, vol. XXXIX, 1976, pp. 333-340; G. D. Davary, *BW*, 64-66; J. Harmatta (editor), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. II, Paris 1894, pp. 419 and 422-23; N. Sims-Williams, *NBIK*, p. 95; Chapter- III, especially sec. VII and ns. 64 and 188.

2 and 3. *Two Bactrian Inscriptions from Dilberjin*

The ruins of a fortress at Dilberjin are located about 40 kms north-west of Balkh and about 20 kms north-east of Aqcha. One of the inscriptions was discovered in a sanctuary (a dynastic sanctuary dedicated to Oesho?) in the north-eastern corner of the fortress. The other inscription was also recovered from the fortress area.

The extremely fragmentary nature of both the records defies any coherent reading. The suggested readings vary widely from one another. Harmatta's attempts to read the name of Ooēmo in both the records is not at all convincing. However, there are external indications in favour of dating the inscriptions to the period of V'ima kadphises. For these indications, see Chapter III, n. 64.

Select Bibliography:- V. A. Livshits and I. T. Kruglikova, *Fragmenty baktriyskoy monumentalnoy nadpisi iz Dilberdzhin*, Moscow, 1979, pp. 98-112; G. D. Davary, *BW*, pp. 129-135; Chapter III, n. 64.

4. *An "Unfinished" Inscription from Surkh-Kotal (SK Z)*

Surkh-Kotal is a hillock near Pul-i-Khumri in the Baghlan area of north-eastern Afghanistan. Here the ruins of a fortified temple of the Kushāṇa period, looking like a citadel, have been found, together with some other structures. One has to reach the courtyard of the temple (A) by ascending four flights of steps.

Inside the temple (A) a stone slab was found engraved with an inscription. The inscription is mostly obliterated with only faint traces of letters remaining. so we cannot be sure whether the engraver concerned ever completed the text of the inscription.

The opening section of the inscription, however, can be read with confidence. It can be deciphered as Χþονο ΣΟΕ (or θ). The Year 275 or 279 can be referred to the Parthian era of 247 B. C. So the date of the inscription is either A. D. 28 or 32. It can be referred, like the Dasht-e-Nawur record, to the period of V'ima Kadphises. However, Harmatta cannot be supported in his attempt to read the name of Ooēmo in the remaining portion of the inscription.

The Slab with the so-called "unfinished" inscription might have been used as a building material at the time of constructing the temple (A) during the reign of Kanishka I (see below). The inscription itself has no connection with the temple.

Select Bibliography: R. Curiel, *Journal Asiatique*, 1954, p. 193; A. Maricq, *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 345f; A.D.H. Bivar, *BSOAS*, 1963, vol. XXIV, p. 500; J. Harmatta, *op.cit.*, p. 427; *CSADOSE*, pp. 52-55.

5. *Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I*

Found at Rabatak, 25 miles north of Pul-i-Khumri, the inscription on a stone slab is the most important Kushāṇa record in the Bactrian language. For details see Chapter II.

Select Bibliography: N. Sims-Williams, *NBIK*, pp. 71-95; Chapter II.

6. *Surkh-Kotal Inscription of the time of Kanishka I*

Of the four flights of stairs leading to the temple (A) courtyard at Surkh-Kotal originally only there flights of stairs had been constructed. The fourth flight of stairs, added later, leads to the main gate and the enclosure wall in front of the third flight (counted from the top). Here the excavators found a stone inscription of about 50 metres wide running all along the front wall. Only a part of it was recovered in fragments. The inscription was probably intended to record the dedication of the temple during the reign of Kanishka I (as indicated by the inscription numbered 7 below).

Select Bibliography: R. Curiel, *Journal Asiatique*, 1954, pp. 190-193; H. Humbach, *BS*, pt. I, pp. 101-102 and pl. II, pl. 21; G. Fussman, *Mathurā-The Cultural Heritage* (edited by D. Meth Srinivasan), New Delhi, 1989, pp. 194-196.

7. *The Great Surkh-Kotal Inscription (SK 4)*

This inscription (SK 4-M) on a slab of stone was found affixed on the brick facade of the fourth or the lowest terrace (consisting of the fourth or the lowest flight of steps). Fragments of two other copies of the inscription (SK 4-A AND SK 4 B) were found built in the side of the walls of a passage leading to a well.

The inscription numbered SK 4-M consists of 25 lines of writing in well engraved and fairly well preserved Greek letters. The language is Bactrian. The opening sentence clearly states that "this [is the] acropolis, the Kanishka Victorious Sanctuary, which the God King Kanishka made [his] name bearing". So there is no doubt that the dynastic sanctuary at Surkh-Kotal was named after Kanishka I during his reign. It appears from the inscription that the temple was abandoned due to a breakdown in the supply of water to the shrine. Later Nokonzoko, a high official, loyal to the Lord, the Bagapouro (=Devaputra) (i. e. the Kushāṇa emperor) came here and in the month of Nishan in the "year thirtyone" he "circumvallated the acropolis ... dug a well and conducted its water out (of it) and set up pillars(?) on stones (i.e. a causeway of stone), so that through them (i.e. through the causeway) pure water shall not be lacking to the acropolis."

The inscription seems to refer to the foundation of the Kanishkha Victorious Sanctuary during the reign of Kanishka I and its restortion in the year 31 of the Kanishka Era and so during the reign of Huvishka. Prof. D. Schlumberger, the leader of the archaeological excavations at the site of the acropolies, also attributed the foundation of the temple to Kanishka I and postulated a measure of rebuilding well before the end of Huvishka's reign.

We do not know the exact reason for making two other copies or versions of the inscriptions. However, E. Benveniste is certainly wrong in apparently thinking that SK 4-A, SK4-B, and SK4-M record three successuve restorations (though he explicitly refers to only two repairings) and should be dated in the same order. In fact, the inscription and its other copies or versions allude to the original construction of the shrine and a phase of repairing.

It is more rational to assume that originally three or more copies of the draft of the text were prepared. Of these the one more faithfully and beautifully engraved than the others was utilised to commemorate the works of Nokonzoko and others (including one Borzomiuro or Borzomioro i. e. Burzmihr). The slabs of stone containing other copies or versions were broken up and used as building materials (as indicated above by the findspots of their fragments).

Select Bibliography: A. Maricq, *Journal Asiatique*, vol. CCXLVI, 1958, pp. 345f; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, vol. XXIII, 1960, pp. 48f; E. Benveniste, *Journal Asiatique*, vol. CCXLIX, 1961, pp. 113-140; B. N. Mukherjee, *Indian Studies Past and Present*, vol. V, No. 3, 1964, pp. 273-74; H. Humbach, *BS*, pt. I, pp. 76f; pt. II, pls. 17, 18 and 20; D. Schlumberger, M. Le Berre and G. Fussman, *Surkh-Kotal en Bactriane, I. Les temples, architecture, sculpture, inscriptions, Mémories de la Délégation Archéolgique Francaise en Afghanistan*, vol. XXIV, Paris, 1982, the section on inscriptions; G. D. Devary, *BW*, pp.53f; G. Fussman, *Mathurā-The Cultural Heritage*, pp. 194f.

8. *The Airtam Pedestal Inscription*

Airtam, situated 18 kms east of Termez in Uzbekistan, is well known as the site of the ruins of a Buddhist establishment, datable to c. 1st-2nd century A. D. Nearly two decades ago the site yielded a limestone pedestal (78 cms. long and 23 cms. high) carrying a Bactrian inscription on its upper part. It is reported to be at present in the collection of a museum in Tashkent.

The lower parts of two standing human figures are noticeable above the pedestal. One of these is apparently that of a male and the other is surely that of a female, wearing anklets and a long garment (Indian *śāḍi*?) and standing cross-legged.

The Bactrian Inscription, which is the first known record in this language engraved on an image pedestal, consists of six lines written in Greek letters, showimg a tendency towards cursiveness in form. Unfortunately each of the six lines is partly mutilated. In fact, one-third of the text is effaced. However, V. A. Livshits and E. V. Rtveladze, the first editiors of the inscription, think that its remaining part can indicate the purpose of engraving it.

According to these editors, the record refers to the reign of Šao Oēošk (o), i. e. King Ọēška or Huvishka of the Kushāṇa family. It also speaks of a high official (or governor) called Šod(i)o, who decided to renovate a bagolango and "as it had no water, dug" up (a well or a canal or a tank?).

According to the editors, the expression Šao Oēošk(o) is followed by the word Xšono and the Greek letter *delta*, which numerically means "4". So the record is dated, according to the editors, in the regnal year of Huvishka. But if the letter now taken as a *delta* (Δ) indicating the figure "4", is really a *lambda*(Λ), standing for 30, or if it is a mistake for the latter, then the numerical value of the intended letter (Λ), i.e. 30, can well be taken as alluding to the thirtieth year of the Kanishka Era.

So the sanctuary at Airtam might have been renovated in or about the year 30 of the Kanishka Era, when Huvishka was on the throne. It may be added here that the bagolango at Surkh-Kotal was restored to a state of proper functioning in or about the year 31. The sanctuary (*devakula*) at Mat was also repaired during the period of Huvishka.

We may be allowed to point out that on the photographs of the record taken by Dr. Lalita Nehru at my request we have not noticed the name of Huvishka after the word *šao* in line 1. At present the rest of the first line is mutilated. Probably it was in a better condition when the editiors read it for the first time. However, Šodio, a high dignitary (*stado*), is mentioned in line 2. He appears to have repaired the shrine called Bagando (*Bogando rizdi*). If Bogando is related to baga, "god" and Sanskrit *anta*, meaning *inter alia* "settlement", then Bogando may literally mean "a settlement of God", i.e. a temple.

The readable portion of the last line (*oti eimo Mizozada nibixto*) may be translated as "and Mizozada (has) written it". The epigraph perpetuating the meritorious act of Šodio (<Šodia) (Shodia) was composed and / or engraved by Mizozada.

Select Bibliography: V. A. Livshits, B. A. Tursunov and E. V. Rtveladze, *Obscheystvyenniye Nauke Uzbyekestanye*, 1981, no. 3, pp. 43f; *Information Bulletin, International Association for the Study of the Cultures of Central Asia*, issue no. 1, 1982, pp. 21-22; B. N. Mukherjee, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1982, pp. 54-56.

KUSHĀṆA GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

Miaos

(some years in the second half of the 1st century B. C.)

Kujula Kadphises

(from sometime of the last decade of the 1st century

B. C. to c. A. D. 46)

↓

Sadashkaṇa

(might or might not have been only a co-ruler of his father for some time)

↓

V'ima Kadphises

(co-ruler c. A.D. 17- c. A. D. 46; supreme ruler-c. A. D. 46- A.D. 78)

↓

Kanishka I

(co-ruler - for some years; supreme ruler - year 1 to 23, i.e.

A. D. 78 - A. D. 100/101)

Vāsishka
(co-ruler - c. A. D. 90 or at
least from year 20 to 23, i. e.
A. D. 97/98 to 100/101;
supreme ruler - year 24 to 28, i.e.
A. D. 101/102 to 105/106)
↓
Kanishka II
(co-ruler - year 41, i. e. A. D. 118/119)

Huvishka
(co-ruler - year 25 or 26 to 28,
i. e. A. D. 102/103 or 103/104 to
105-106; supreme ruler - year 28 to
60, i.e. A. D. 105/106 to 137/138)

?
Vāsudeva I
(year 64 or 67 to 98, i. e. A. D. 141/142
or 144/145 to 175/176)

?
Kanishka III
(from sometime in the last quarter of
the 2nd century to about the second
decade of the 3rd century A. D.)

?
Vāsudeva II
(from about the second decade to the
middle of the 3rd century A. D.)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Pl. I. Location of Rabtak in Baghlan in north Afghanistan.

Pl. II. 1. A seal impression from Khalchayan displaying a Kushāṇa(?) king sitting on a lion-throne (*siṁhāsana*).

2. Enthroned likeness of Vima Takshuma (=V'ima Kadphises) found in the sanctuary (*devakula*) at Mat near Mathura.

3. Fragments of a lion-throne (?) discovered at Rabatak.

Pl. III. 1-10. Eye-copies of parts of the Rabatak inscription.

11. Eye-copy of a legend on a coin of Takshuma, i.e. V'ima Kadphises.

12. Eye-copy of a part of an inscription in Greek characters on a coin of Takshomo, i. e. V'ima Kadphises.

13. Eye-copy of a part of line 2 of the Dasht-e-Nawur inscription (DN I).

14. Eye-copy of the last section of line 5 and the whole of line 6 of the same record.

Pl. IV. 1. A copper coin of Takshuma, i.e. V'ima Kadphises (a-obverse; b-reverse).

2. Another copper coin of the same ruler (a-obverse; b-reverse).

Pl. V. The Rabatak inscription.

Pl. VI. The Rabatak inscription, top left.

Pl. VII. The Rabatak inscription, top middle.

Pl. VIII. The Rabatak inscription, top right.

Pl. IX. The Rabatak inscription, bottom left.

Pl. X. The Rabatak inscription, bottom middle.

Pl. XI. The Rabatak inscription, bottom right.

Pl. XII. 1. The Airtam Pedestal Inscription - left part.

2. The Airtam Pedestal Inscription - right part.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASSIPH : Mukherjee, B. N., *An Agrippan Source - A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, Calcutta,1970.

AW : Bartholomae, C., *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904.

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NBIK : Sims-Williams, N. and Cribb, J., "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka The Great," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, no. 4, 1995/96, Kamakura, pp. 75-142.

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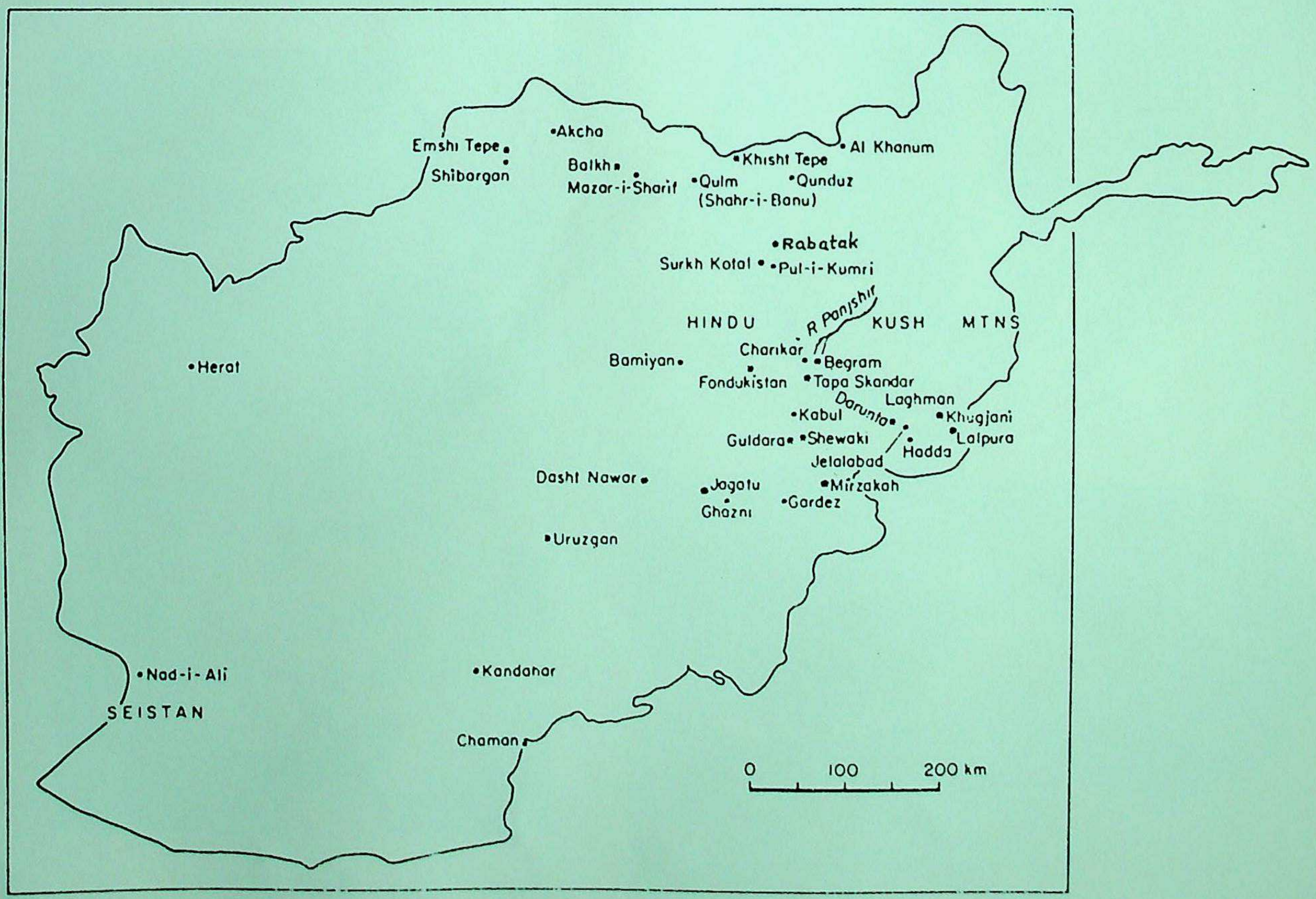

Emshi Tepe
Shibargan
Akcha
Balkh
Mazar-i-Sharif
Qulm
(Shahr-i-Banu)
Khisht Tepe
Qunduz
Al Khanum
Rabatak
Surkh Kotal
Pul-i-Kumri
HINDU
R Panjshir
KUSH
MTNS
Bamiyan
Charikar
Begram
Fondukistan
Tapa Skandar
Darunta
Laghman
Khugjani
Kabul
Lalpura
Guldara
Shewaki
Hadda
Jelalabad
Mirzakah
Dasht Nawar
Jagatu
Ghazni
Gardez
Herat
Uruzgan
Nad-i-Ali
SEISTAN
Kandahar
Chaman
0
100
200 km

Plate I : Location of Rabatak in the Baghlan Area in North Afghanistan.

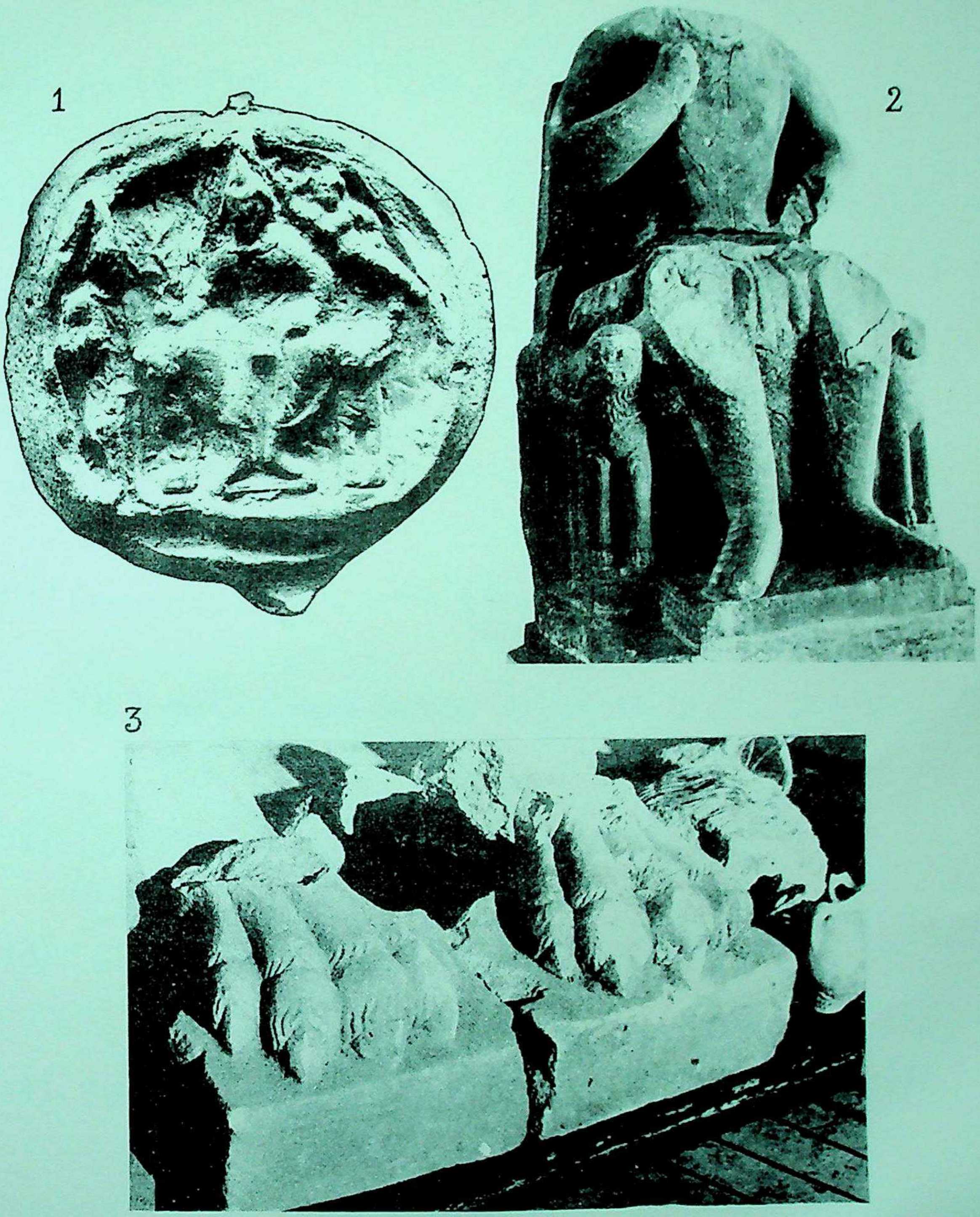


Plate II : Art Objects showing the Lion-Throne and Its Fragments from (1) Khalchayan; (2) Mat; and (3) Rabatak.

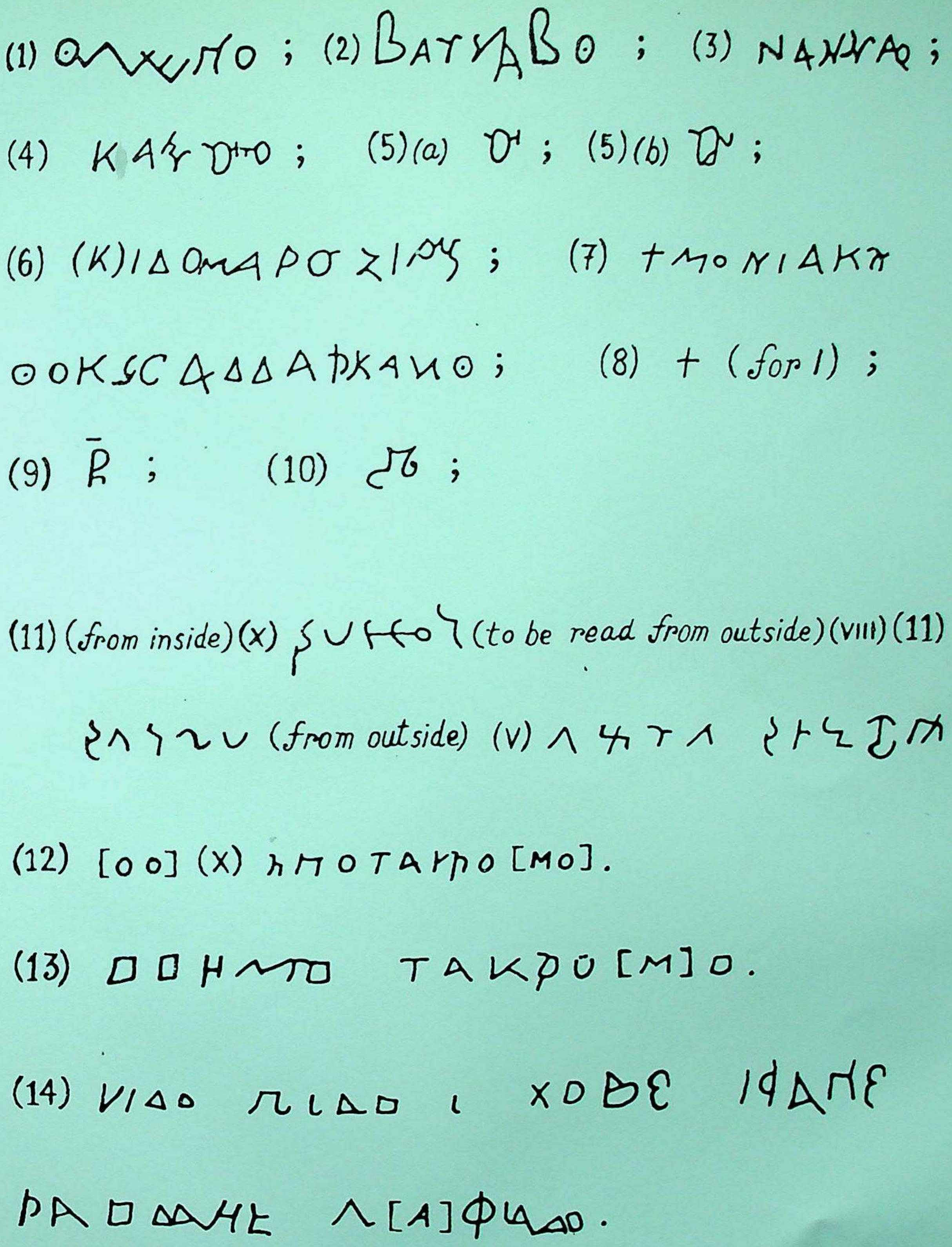
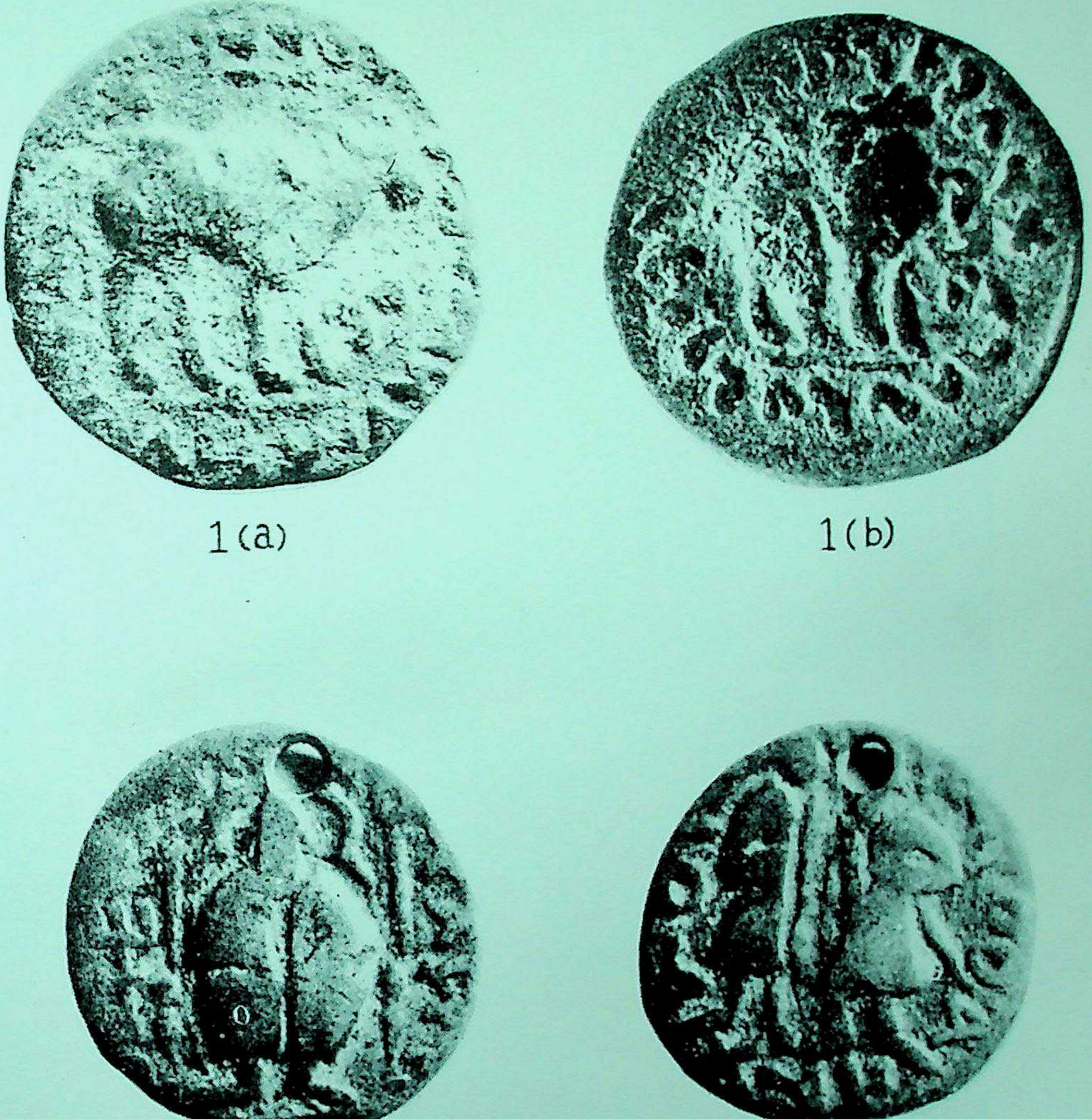

(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
(5)(a)
(5)(b)
(6)
(7)
(8) + (for I)
(9)
(10)
(11) (from inside) (X)
(to be read from outside) (VIII) (11)
(from outside) (V)
(12) [oo] (X)
(13)
(14)

Plate III : Eye-copies of Inscriptions.



1(a)

1(b)

2(a)

2(b)

Plate IV : Copper Coins of Takshuma (a - obverse; b - reverse)

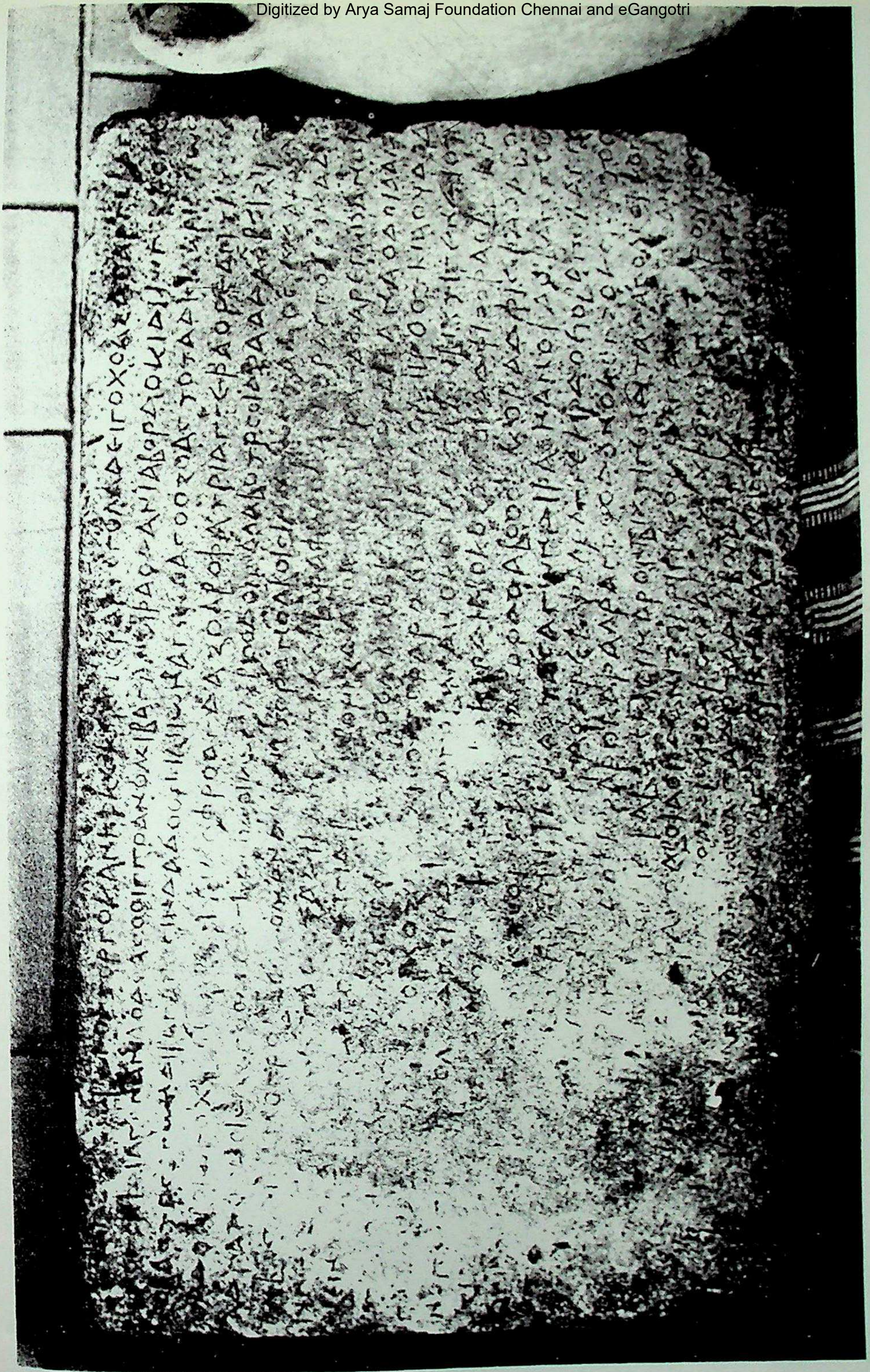


Plate V : The Rabatak Inscription.

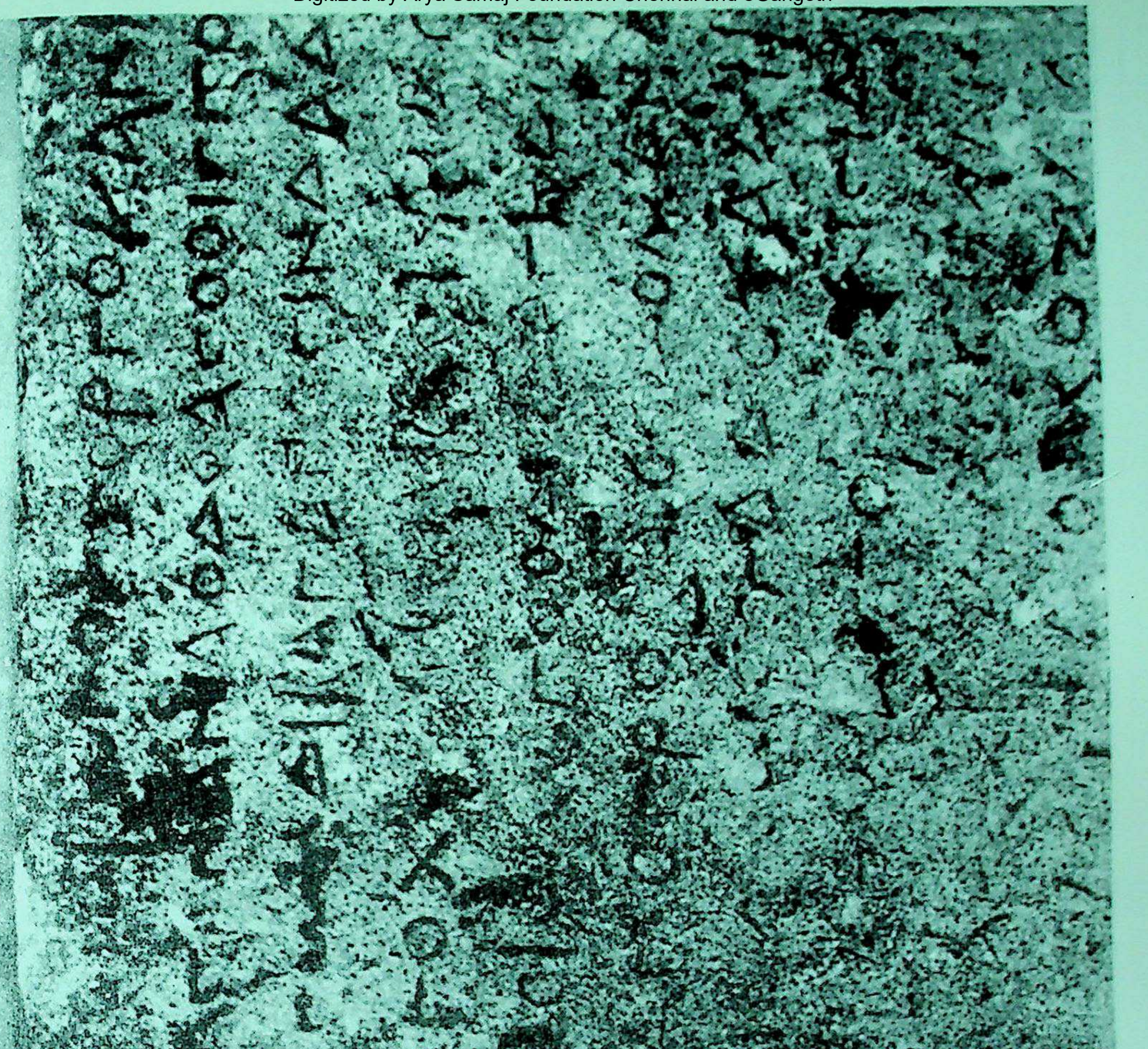


Plate VI : The Rabatak Inscription, top left.

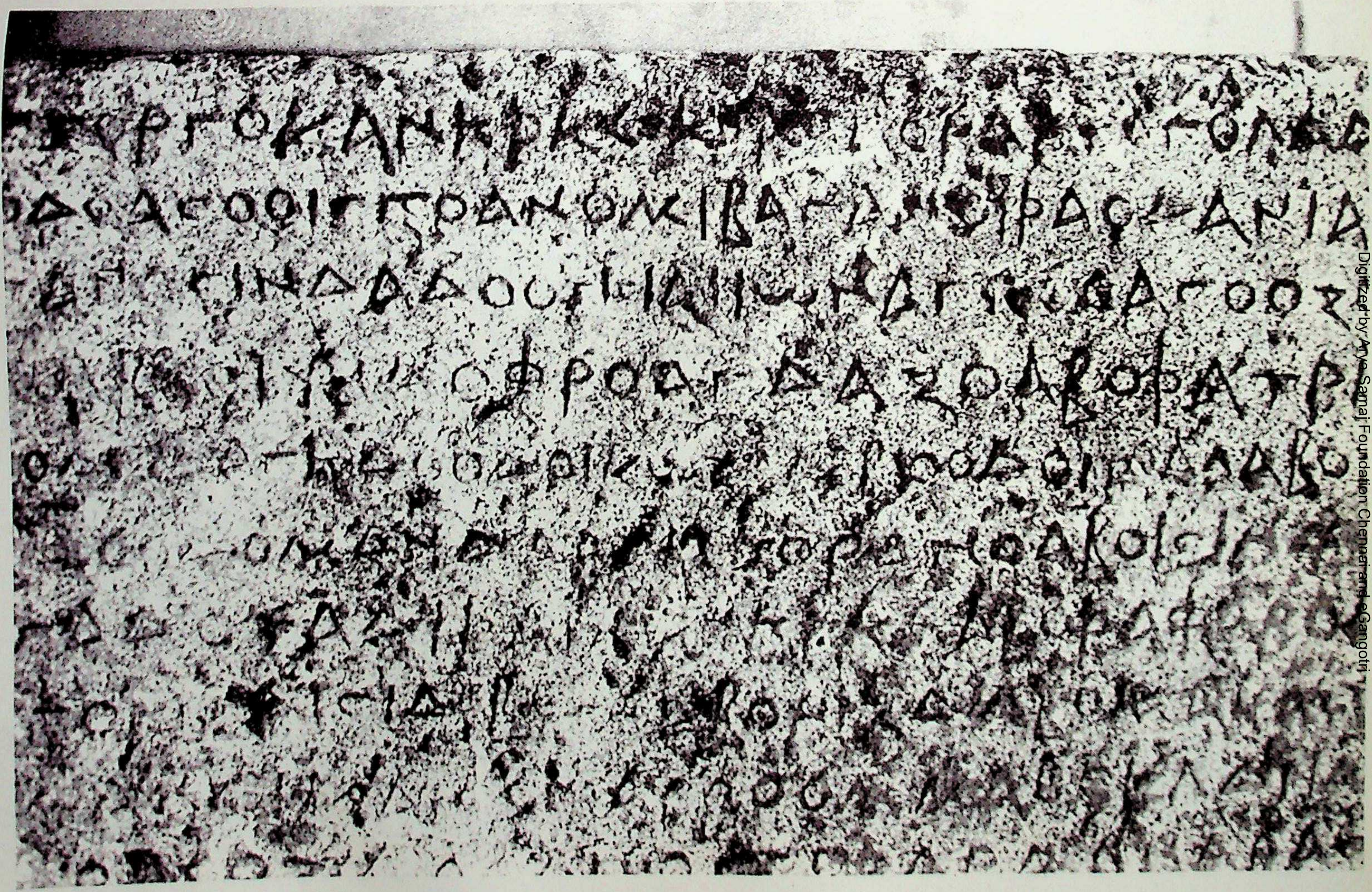


Plate VII : The Rabatak Inscription, top middle.

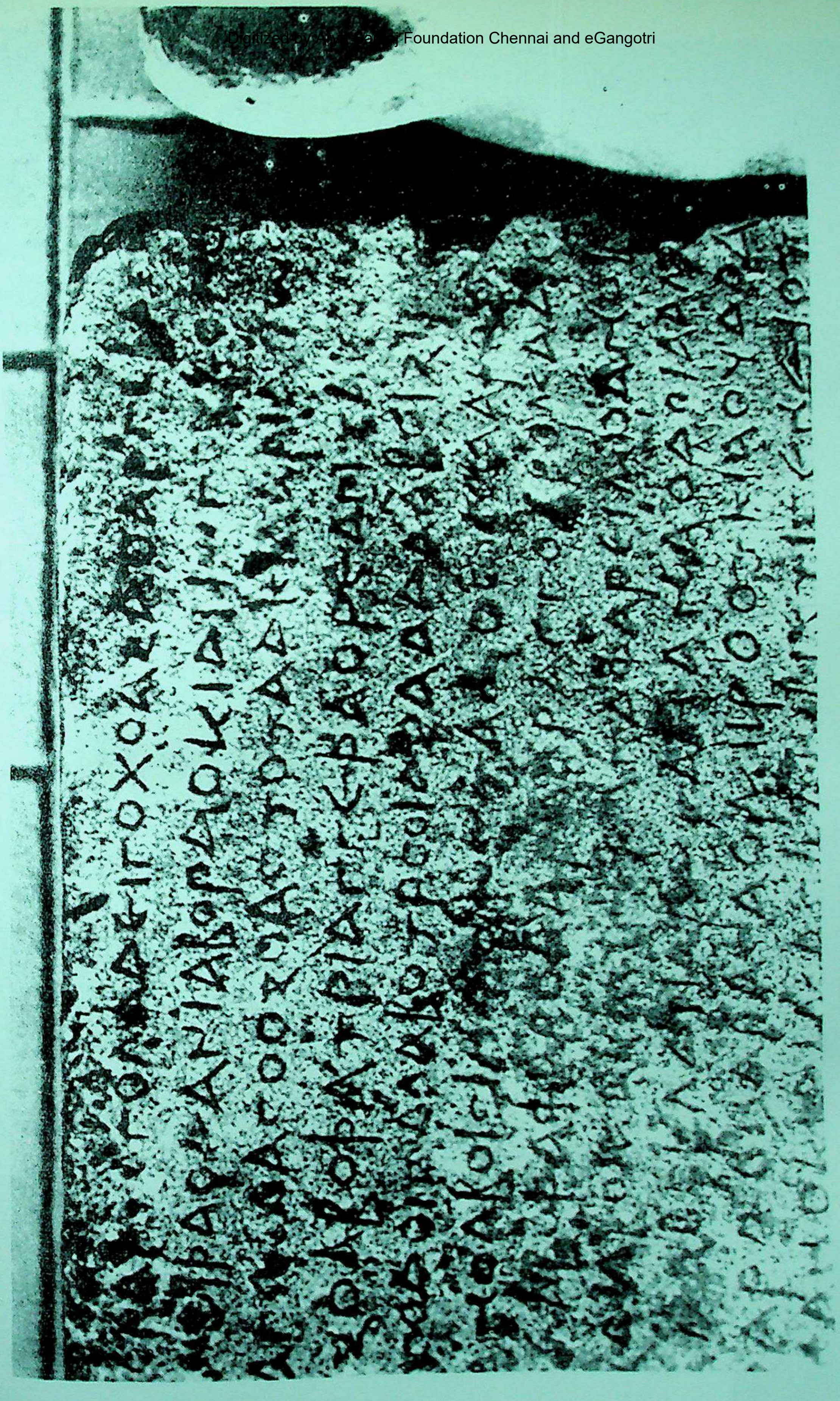


Plate VIII : The Rabatak Inscription, top right.

Plate IX : The Rabatak Inscription, bottom left.

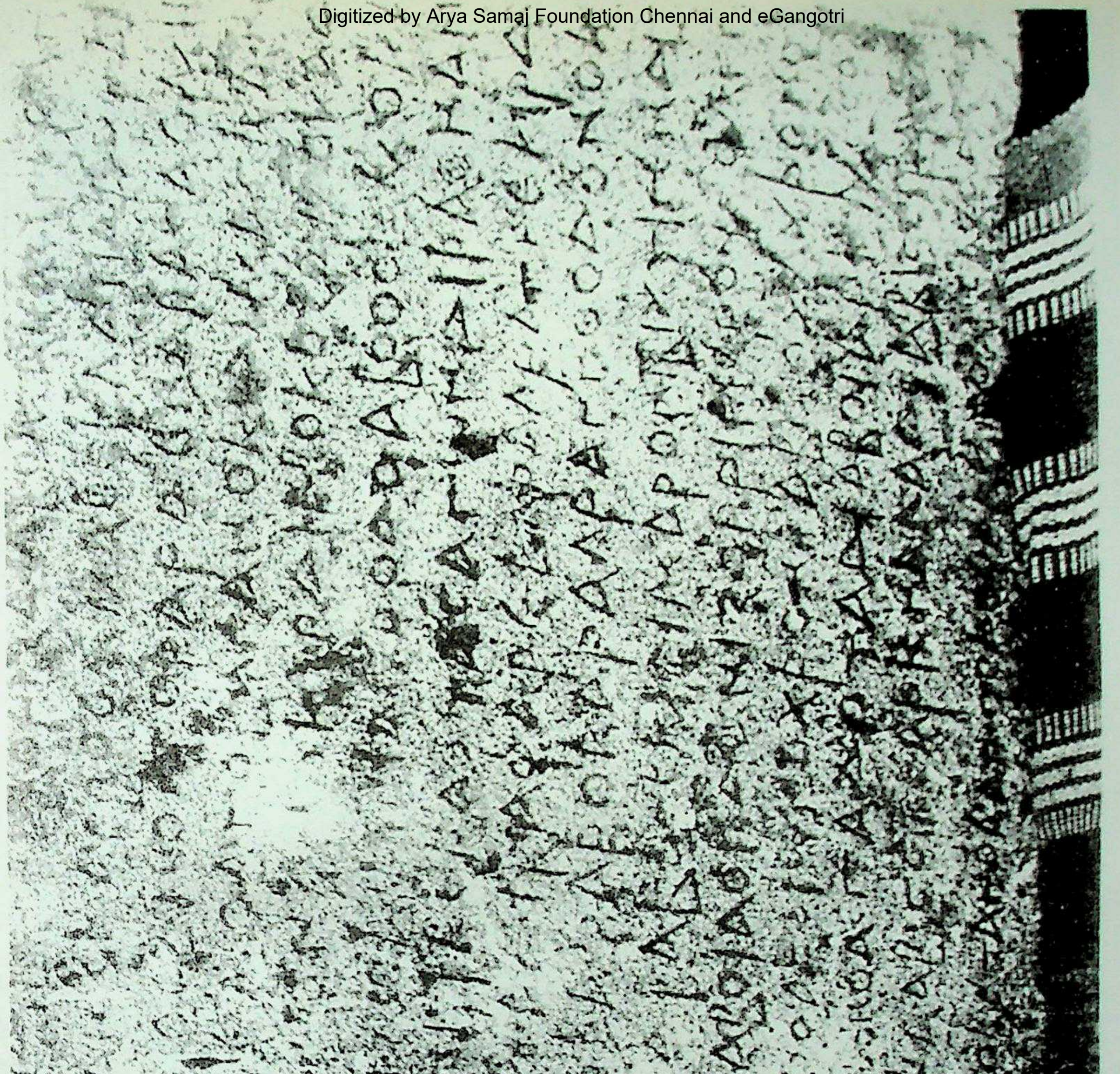


Plate X : The Rabatak Inscription, bottom middle.

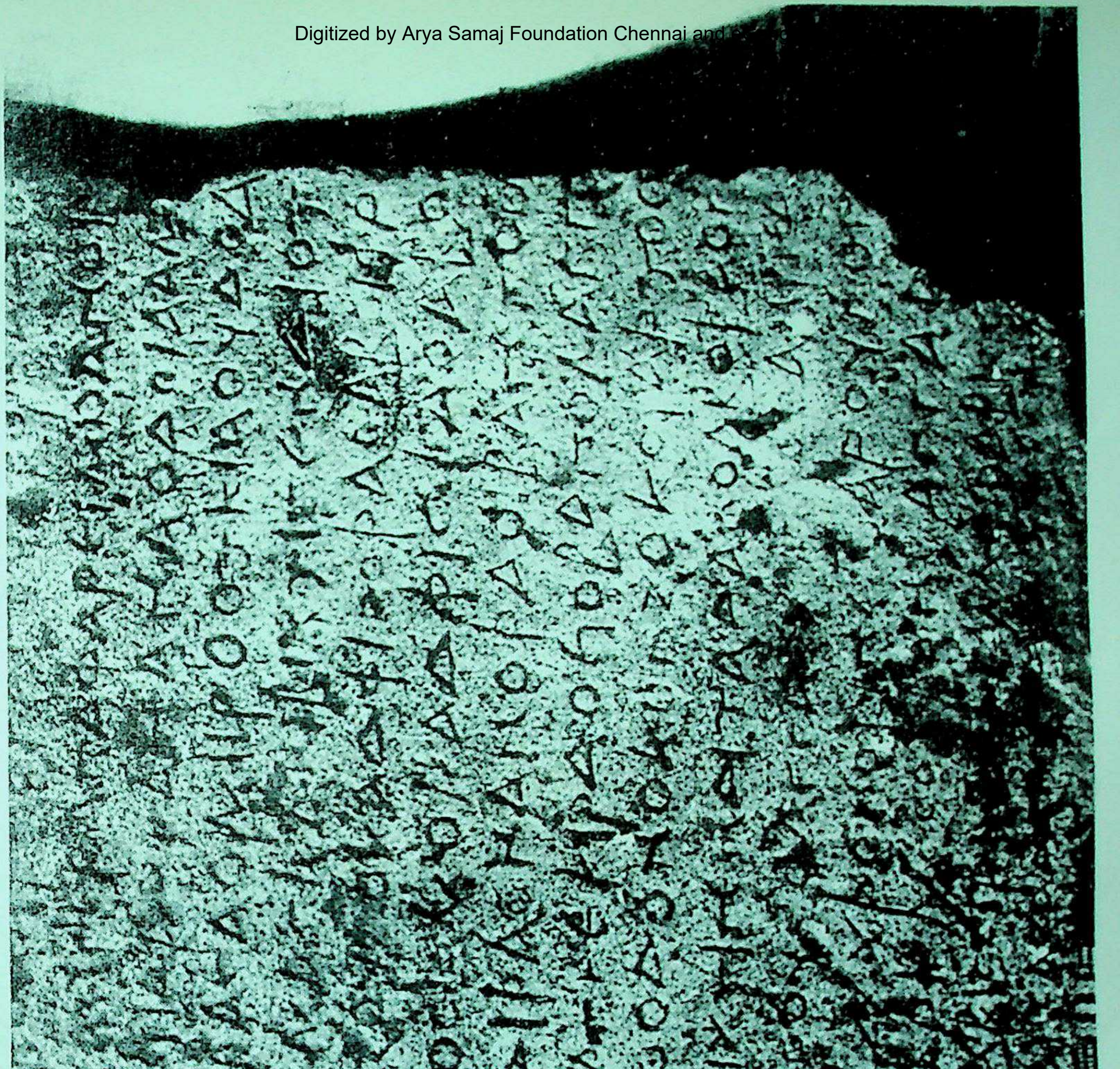
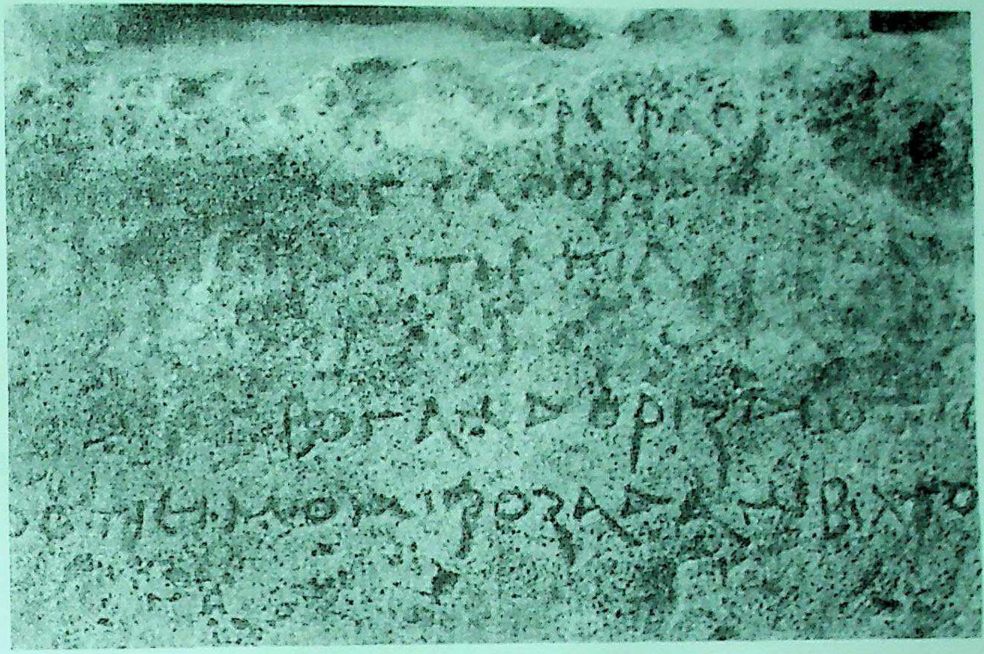


Plate XI : The Rabatak Inscription, bottom right.



1

2

Plate XII : Airtam Inscription (1. The left part; 2. The right part).

CORRIGENDA

Page No.	Line No.	In Place of	Read
4	11	used used an article	used as an article
5	16	other that	other than
8	11	the case of vali'a's son	the care of Vali'a's son
8	30	effece	efface
11	11	believe	believe that
16	23	Koonadiano	Koonadēano
19	13	*d'Exteme*	*d'Extreme*
23	12	Kafriristan	Kafiristan
29	19	should	should be
43	27	A. Herrman	A. Herrmann
49	32	would have	would have been
58	6	refered	referred
61	28	M. Yaldaz	M. Yaldiz
66	37	142 A.H.	242 A.H.
69	22	Out	Out of
69	23	region	reign
77	24	A. Hermann	A. Herrmann

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